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STONE KRAAL SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

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SYNOPSIS

During recent years several expeditions have searched for the "lost city" which was mentioned by G. A. Farini. The author is of the opinion that there is only one type of ruin in the Southern Bechuanaland Protectorate, the Western Transvaal and in the Northern Cape Province of the Union, namely certain stone kraal villages on the hill tops and near present and former watercourses. He has located about 110 sites of such villages. Several ancient travellers of the last century suspected that the builders of these stone structures belonged to some higher developed race, while more recent ideas tend to attribute the origin of the ruins to South African Bantu tribes. In this article the relation between the sites of ruins and Bantu historical places and migrations is discussed. The comparison of the history, ancient places of residence, estimated numbers of ancient populations, the use of neolithic stone implements, etc., proves that these stone structures are older than the earliest Bantu immigration which took place about 1300 A.D. The general cultural pattern of the stone builders is typical of the late neolithic, with mining activities, stock breeding, agricultural terracing and irrigation, monoliths, thick pottery and small stone implements, type of graves, the building of long, fairly straight walls, animal sacrifices, etc. This culture appears to be contemporary with the late megalithic in Eastern Africa (about 600–1000 A.D.), and it may have existed even up to 1300 A.D. In the author's opinion a distinction should be made between three historical layers which have their original historical and cultural connections in North-East Africa and Southern Arabia, viz.

- (1) The Bantu immigrations of the Shoko-Mbire (1450 A.D.), Rosci and Venda into Southern Rhodesia, having certain traditions linking up with the stone builders and miners;*
- (2) The late megalithic in Abyssinia and Rhodesia, with large stone structures (600–1000 A.D.); and*
- (3) Stone structures under discussion in this article, being a late neolithic with strong megalithic influence (beginning about 900 B.C. in East Africa, and lasting up to 900 or 1300 A.D. in South Africa).*

Main types of stone structures in South and East Africa

In the western Transvaal, in the northern Cape Province (the former British Bechuanaland) and in the southern Bechuanaland Protectorate we find a certain type of ancient village which consists of stone enclosures, being enclosures of homesteads

and kraals for live-stock. This type of stone structure appears to be different from other types known in South and East Africa. For a better understanding it may be useful to give the following rough introductory sketch of the grouping of other types of stone structures. There are the following types of ancient remains:

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(A) The type of stone kraal enclosures under discussion in this article.

(B) The stone hut settlements in the Orange Free State, and in the Transvaal (districts Ermelo, Barberton, Carolina, Johannesburg, Springs), as described by J. Walton, van Riet Lowe, Hoernlé, van Hoepen, Daubenton, F. Pullen, A. C. Myburgh, (1)-(8) and others.

(C) Stone-built kraals in the districts Potgietersrust, Pietersburg and Blaauwberg which were also used and rebuilt by some Bantu here and there, as described by J. P. Johnson, J. B. de Vaal, B. D. Malan and A. S. Brink, (9)-(10).

(D) Stone-built kraals in Kenya, some of which were still inhabited by a long-haired race, a people called Eborata, at the time when the Ndorobo (between 1500 and 1600) and the Masai (about or before 1700) immigrated into their present country, as mentioned by Westermann (11).

Galloway calls the builders who were expelled by the Masai, Sirikwa or Il Mogwan (13), and estimates that they were expelled 150 or rather 250 years ago. This estimate is based on the age of certain trees and the tradition of the present natives. Huntingford (14) dates the end of this culture back to about 1500. He attributes the stone kraals in Kenya and North Tanganyika to a culture he calls the "Azanian civilization", which he thinks includes remains of agricultural terraces, irrigation ditches and roads, and he suggests that the builders are of some Hamitic stock connected with the Galla. Interesting facts are also mentioned by Sonia Cole (15) who, like most authors writing about East African proto-history, indicates - without having the intention of giving an explanation - that this civilization points to the pre-Islamic North-East Africa and an ancient Abyssinian culture as originators of the remains found.

This is the only type of ruins where Native tradition records foreign inhabitants who may not even be the original ones, because the Transvaal ruins were abandoned at least 300 years earlier than the East African ones. Galloway thinks that the East African remains are particularly close to Inyanga and Penhalonga in Rhodesia.

(E) Terracing for agricultural purposes, irrigation channels and roads cannot easily be connected

with the stone-kraal settlements, but are important enough to be mentioned as a separate item of which we do not know much more than the name "Azanian civilization". They are part of a late African neolithic type, and extend from Abyssinia through Uganda, Kenya, northern Tanganyika, Rhodesia (e.g. near Inyanga and north of the railway line Macheke-Umtali), Bechuanaland Protectorate (e.g. 30 miles south of Francistown), Mozambique, Transvaal and Orange Free State to the border of Basutoland, if not even further down.

In the Union of South Africa we find this terracing (i) in Blaauwberg near the Mission station Leipzig, (ii) near Louis Trichardt (Mooi Plaats Haradip) (19), (iii) in Lydenburg district at Boolskop (19), (iv) in Lydenburg seven miles out of the town on the farm Boomplaats (8), (v) north-east of Middelburg in "the Hell", (vi) in Barberton, Carolina and Ermelo districts (7), (vii) in the Orange Free State near Platberg (?) and other places, (viii) the so-called "Roman dam" between the hills at Tintwa on the boundary of Harrismith district and Natal near the van Reenen Pass and (ix) on the farm Magosa Stad 279, Marico district.

Van Hoepen (8), one of the first to discuss ancient terracing in South Africa, argues that as the Arabs could not have used the schemes, it may have been the Bantu because they still make use of terracing here and there. He is right in saying that it is not the Arabs because the latter proceeded along the coast and thence inland. Indeed, they were mainly traders after they had settled along the coast in the 6th century. There is no proof that S.A. Bantu built or even repaired terraces anywhere, and they did not use irrigation. In some cases East African Native tradition regards terracing and irrigation as something before their time. Terracing is certainly connected with an immigration from the north proceeding inland and also through countries where Bantu have never been. Terracing fits into the culture patterns of ancient Abyssinia, Southern Arabia, Persia, with extensions to India, Mongolia, Indonesia and even Madagascar, no matter what kind of ancient people were the bearers of this culture.

We cannot yet prove a connection between the herdsmen who dwelt in stone kraals and the

agriculturalists who made terraces and created irrigation schemes, and where we find terraces near stone huts in South Africa, the two may have no connection. Several races migrated through Africa in early times and we cannot yet clearly distinguish the traces left by them in South and East Africa. No terraces are found at the western Transvaal ruins mentioned in this article (type A), although the villages are mostly built on top of hills (exception Magosa Stad).

(F) The ruins in Matabeleland in Southern Rhodesia form a certain type, which is more recent than most of the Mashonaland ruins, and were used and probably reconstructed by the Roswi under their Mambo dynasty (starting at the end of the 17th century with Chief Changamire and being destroyed by the Matebele under Mzilikazi about 1839). From Portuguese sources information may be gained as to how far the people of the Monomotapa kings (about 1450–1700 A.D.) made use of the ruins; other sources deal with the culture pattern connected with them (16)–(23).

(G) Ruins with terraced walls of the Zimbabwe and Limpopo valley type, also played an important part in the ancient Bantu kingdoms (16)–(28), although long after the buildings were constructed. The Carbon 14 test proves that wood in the Zimbabwe construction was cut between the 6th and 8th century (29), which does not prove that the wood was not inserted after the building had been standing for a long time.

Schofield even describes remains of the Tonga-Sotho pottery style coming from the debris under the strata of the debris of the Monomotapa period (c. 1450–1700) (21). Also A. da Silva Rego (23) mentions that, in 1560, baTonga already lived among the Makaranga of Monomotapa. It appears that the Tonga did not undertake the building of large stone structures, although they may have worked for the builders of the younger type of stone structures. Wainwright (28) quotes Masudi who, in 916–17 A.D., described an Abyssinian tribe under their king Wqlimi (also known as Vaklimi living north of the Zambezi in the 7th century) who ruled over the other kings of the country Zeng. The Vaklimi need not be the builders of the

stone structures, but their presence shows that foreigners, whose culture pattern is related to that of the builders of the ruins, ruled in the country long before the Bantu of Monomotapa.

(H) Various ruins in the northern half of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, many of which belong to the Limpopo valley type (F) cannot yet be classified. As these are scarcely mentioned in literature I give the main sites of the ruins in Bechuanaland Protectorate in note 30.

(I) The ancient type of ruins of the eastern Mashonaland complex like Inyanga, Niekerk and Penhalonga (32), with circular stone-lined pit complexes and narrow tunnels. It is supposed that the builders of this type of ruins had pygmy-bred cattle.

(J) In the north-eastern Transvaal in the country of the baVenda and baLobedu we find a type of ruins, such as Dzaṭa, in the Nzhelele valley, Machemma on the farm Solvent (15 miles north of the siding Waterpoort), Verdun, stone structures on the Sibasa pass to Lake Fundisi, on the farm Melrose, and further east, which bear some decadent similarity to the Zimbabwe style. The baVenda claim that one of their first chiefs built Dzaṭa, and indeed have many of the customs of the ancient Rhodesian culture pattern part of which has been taken over by the Bantu from the original inhabitants of the ruins. But they differ as to which of the chiefs built Dzaṭa, making the statement very vague (33)–(40).

(K) According to Rathjens (41) and Wainwright (28) there is a type of rather large ancient ruins and stone phalli in south-western Arabia South East of Mārib) and at various places in Abyssinia, e.g. "Bio" in the country Konso on the shore of Lake Chamo, in the provinces Sidamo and Wallamo, at Bāte and near Chenassen. Bio is regarded as a Sabea foundation of the 6th century. It is not likely that the buildings were set up by the Galla (42).

The types of ruins in Africa are not yet well classified. In order to distinguish the stone structures of the type A from other types, I have tried to give a rough grouping based merely on the knowledge of the literature. It is quite possible

that further research will result in the historical combination of one or other of the types mentioned.

Sites of stone kraal ruins in South Africa

The stone enclosures in the western Transvaal and northern Cape Province extend over the following area :

(1) In the north, a 20-mile chain of villages on the Dwarsberg and Rand van Tweedepoort (Marico district), on the farms Kanfontein 249, Alewynskop 94, Sechele's oude stad 224, Middelland 254, Sebenani 330, Heimwegberg 255, Vleifontein 117, Droogedal 256, Abjaterskop 152, Boschrand 8, Gnadendal 314 and Lotteringkop 29. The series extends into Bechuanaland Protectorate, e.g. on the Taung Spruit near Ramoutsa. Most villages are no longer in a very good condition.

(2) In the central part of Marico district the stone kraal settlements are on the farms : Buispoort 319, Bergvliet 185, Hartebeestlaagte 179, Bergfontein 178, Leeuwfontein 126, Kleinfontein 27, Rietfontein 169, Bloemfontein 223, Mezeg 139, Ella 130, Witpoortjie, Kareesfontein 156 and De Dam van Metsuco. The villages on the first two farms are still in good order. The natives say that the series of these ruins continues as far as Kanye in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. I saw only a few between the Union Border and Lobatsi and know of two sites near Ootse, 10-13 miles west-north-west of Gopane-stat. It extends in a broken line to the east with sites on Magosa Stad 279, Grootkop 280, Slypsteenkop 363, and Koornfontein 881.

(3) Not much is left of a group of ruins near the road Zeerust-Dinokana on Kareespruit 56 (most of the stones were taken away to build a fortified outlook in the Anglo-Boer war). Willowpark 53, in the Moilwa Reserve on the Maswēla-komo and Matlapane hills south of the road and east of the hill Pôwê. All stone walls have been pulled down to the foundation.

(4) The best kraals are in the southern part of Marico district extending along the Klein Marico River and the Baskop Hills, altogether over 20 miles from north-west to south-east, being on the following farms : Honingkrans 215, Kwarriefontein 149, Vergenoegd 46, Winterhoek 287, Doorn-

hoek 151, Kwaggafontein 47, Bergplaats 49, Rhenosterfontein 50, Doornhoek 32, Kaffer's Kraal 214, Rietvaly 5, Rietvallei 91, Zyferfontein 85, Bronkhorstfontein 33, Kuilfontein 82, Rhenosterfontein 83, Draaifontein 84 and Roodekrans 335. Among these are the Anderson ruins.

(5) In the east the ruins stretch as far as the Rustenburg-Brits district boundary. Some remains are in the hills in the triangle formed by the present village Kroondal, the Boschpoortdam and the Sterkstroom, mainly on the farms Turffontein 397 (?) and Beeskraal 286. (Stone fortifications in the Magaliesberg near the Retief kloof on the other side of the Pretoria-Rustenburg main road are Bantu work, probably of the period 1829-30.) It is not impossible that there are remains in the hills east of Brits, as some natives, maintain.

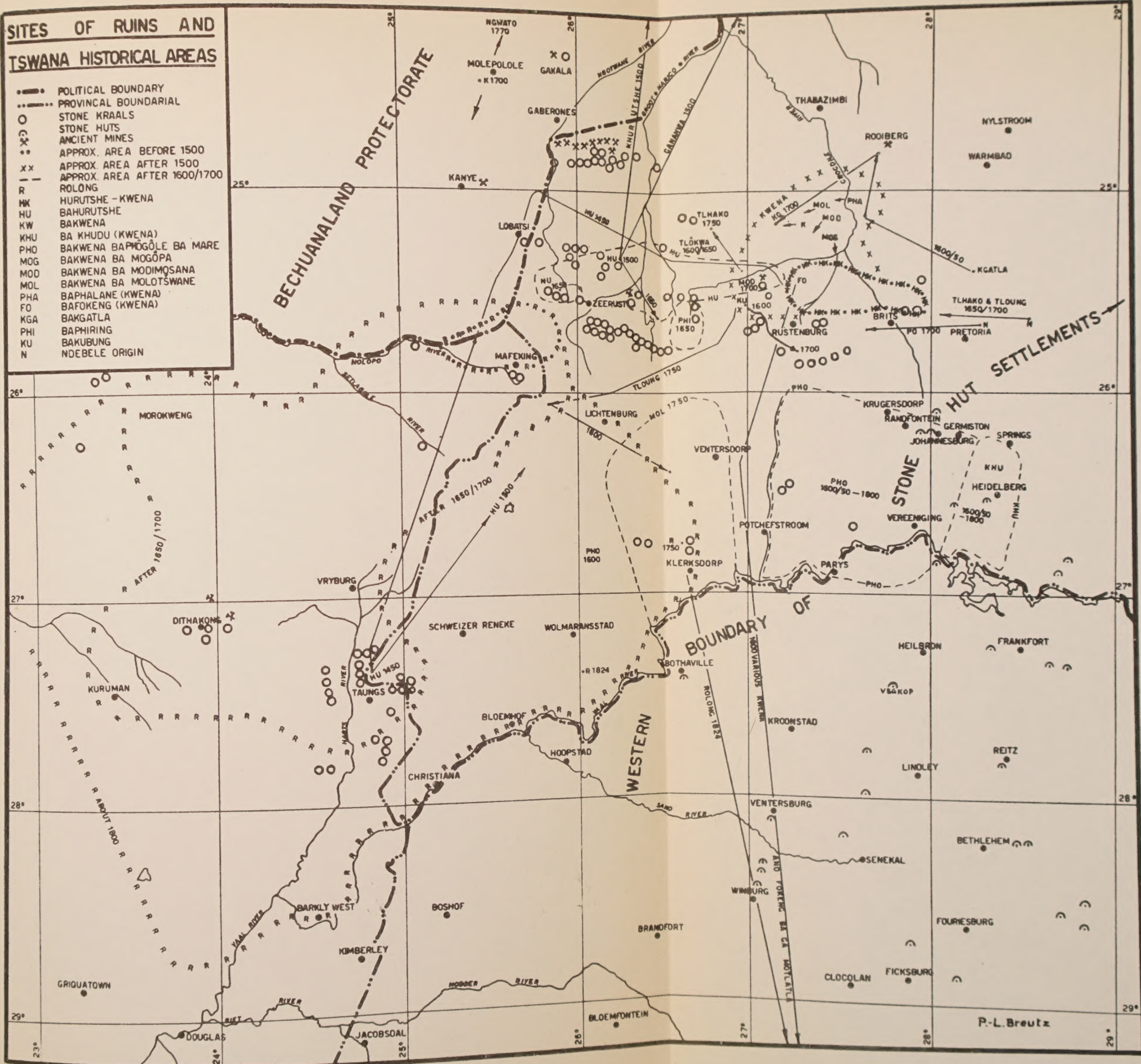
(6) The main group of ruins is 20 miles west of Rustenburg on the farms Moedwil 639, Selonskraal 645, Elandsdrift 717, Magatashoek 282 (?), Doornlaagte 1040, Buffelshoek 10 (?), Enkeldebosch 622 (?) and Steenbokfontein 570 (?). (Questionmarks mean that I tried to locate the sites from an aeroplane. Dr. Haldemann of Pretoria, kindly flew with me over some of the Rustenburg and Marico sites.) The best conditioned villages besides others that only show the foundations, are on the first two of the above-mentioned farms. Another group of ruined villages to the north-west of the railway siding Boshhoek is situated on the farms Elandsfontein 879, Onderstepoort 421, Zwartkoppies 116, and Mahobiskraal 562 (with remains of mining activities). A further group of stone kraal villages stretches for 10 miles from Heldinia to the Magaliesberg on the farms Middelfontein 662, Duikerbult 964, Roodekloof 212, Rhenosterhoek 264, and Olifantspoort 253, also with mining activities, according to Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys.

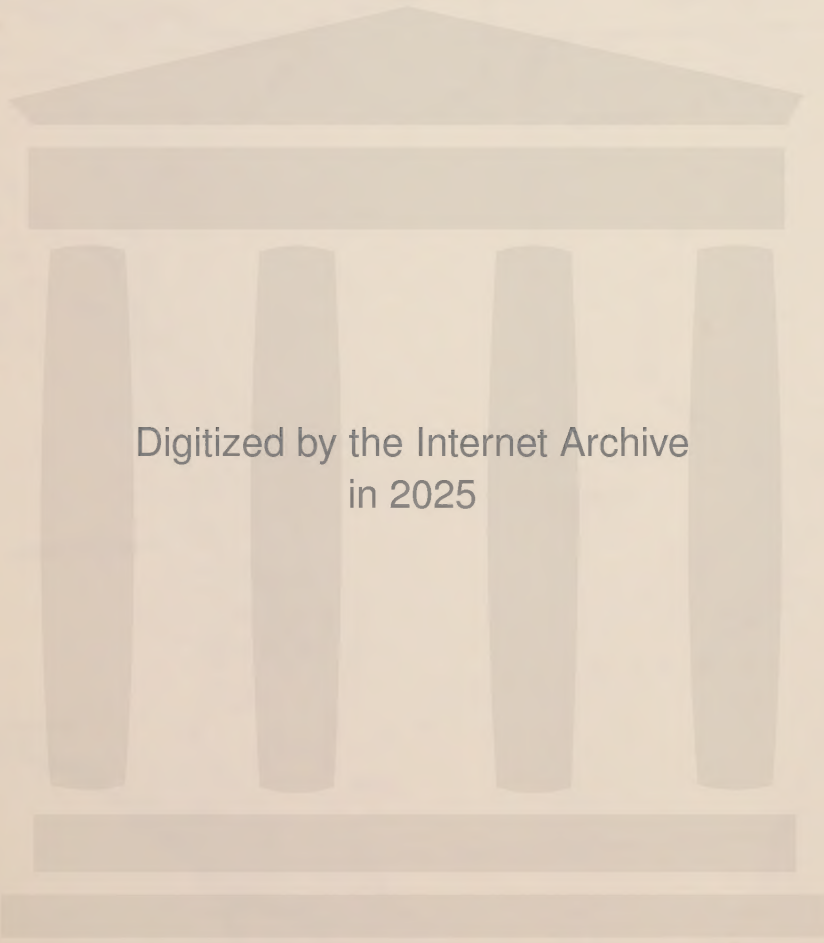
(7) Ruins on the Toelane (Tholwane) spruit not far from the Marico district boundary, which have not been located yet, were mentioned by Captain W. C. Harris (1835). It may, however, be that these are the ruins on Slypsteen 363.

(8) On the Highveld between Rustenburg and Klerksdorp, e.g. in the districts Ventersdorp and

SITES OF RUINS AND TSWANA HISTORICAL AREAS

- POLITICAL BOUNDARY
- - - PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIAL
- STONE KRAALS
- STONE HUTS
- × ANCIENT MINES
- APPROX. AREA BEFORE 1500
- × APPROX. AREA AFTER 1500
- APPROX. AREA AFTER 1600/1700
- ROLONG
- HK HURUTSHE - KWENA
- HU BAHURUTSHE
- KW BAKWENA
- KHU BA KHUDU (KWENA)
- PHO BAKWENA BAPHOGOLE BA MARE
- MOG BAKWENA BA MOGOPA
- MOD BAKWENA BA MODIMOSANA
- MOL BAKWENA BA MOLOTSWANE
- PHA BAPHALANE (KWENA)
- FO BAFOKENG (KWENA)
- KGA BAKGATLA
- PHI BAPHIRING
- KU BAKUBUNG
- N NDEBELE ORIGIN





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Lichtenburg, there are none of these settlements. They are only found on hills and in bushy country. In the Klerksdorp district there is a village at Platberg, 10 miles north of Klerksdorp, as described by Wells (43), and others on the ridge of the village Hartebeestfontein.

(9) There are also no ruined cities in the flat country between Ottoshoop (Marico district) and Mafeking. In Mafeking district there are remains at Dithakong (which means "at the ruins").

(10) A. A. Anderson recorded (44) ruined stone kraals at Setlagole. After enquiring on several farms and in the native villages, I could only find a few foundation stones near the Setlagole Police Station. Although most of the stones of this site were used for building a watch post in the Anglo-Boer war, there should be more remains nearby.

(11) A small stone kraal village, which may be of Bantu origin, is one mile west of the Phitsane Police Station in the Molopo Reserve.

(12) A. du Toit of the Cape Geological Survey (45) came across some ruins to the north-west of Morokweng (Vryburg district), several sites being on the ridge at the Machacane Pan and Armidale Pan. In the north-western part of Vryburg district I found some ruined villages on Mahakane, Pomfret and Tlaping at the waterplaces of which are rock engravings which are neither palaeolithic nor Bushman in style and subject. A further village with semi-circular kraals is on the western side of the pan of the Heuningvlei Native Reserve. These ruins are different in layout and building technique from the usual pattern. In these ruins I see indications of pre-Bantu time contacts between the ma-Kgalagadi race and the stone builders.

(13) J. Campbell saw ruins (46) 6 miles east of "Old Lattakoo" (Dithakong) in Vryburg district, which are also mentioned by Péringney (in Transactions of the S.A. Philosophical Soc., 18, 1907-8 p. 413, 415). It may be that Campbell found ruins "six miles east of Old Lattakoo" (Dithakong), but he could not have missed the ruins which stretch for over a mile on the hill tops in the present Dithakong area (the old Dithakong was situated one mile north-east of the present village but still "at the ruins" as the name says). Individual kraals and ancient (gold ?) mines are 1-2 miles

north of the present Dithakong and further (gold ?) mines are about 7 miles north of it on the farm Waaihoek. A hill with over 100 stone kraals is between Dithakong and Bothitong. Foundations of individual ancient kraals are also in the Gamorona Native Reserve. I found numerous neolithic small stone implements of black flint and white quartzite in the stone kraal villages in Dithakong (Takoon) and Bothitong (Motito).

(14) A large concentration of ruined villages is in and around Taung district on Zwartkoppies 173, and Pudumagae 81, Modimong and Pendermer, Killarney, then for over 10 miles along the hills stretching from the south of Zwartkoppies towards east of Taung, near Phitšong (6 miles S.E. of Taung), near Magogang (five villages in the southernmost part of the Taung Native Reserve, west of Berlin in the Majagoro Location (two villages) and for 10 miles along the ridges of the hills in the north-western part of the Taung Native Reserve.

(15) E. J. Haughton (47) mentions some sites of settlements in caves: (a) in the Gatsrand hills N.N.E. of Potchefstroom or 6-7 miles N.E. of Frederikstad, (b) stone foundations on the farm Kleinfontein 36, (c) in a cave on Zeekoeifontein 21 near Lindequid drift in Vereeniging district (investigated by the Department of Anatomy of the Witwatersrand University in 1934). About 1830, Chief *Mmaselwane* (Selon) of the *baKwena ba Modimosana ba Mmatau* fled from Mzilikazi to a cave, Lepalong, in the Gatsrand near Frederikstad. The *baPhiring* chiefs *Neeleng* and *Mabalane* also stayed in this cave but for a short time only because they found it occupied (48, paras. 278, 586). Recent and ancient remains may be mixed in this cave.

(16) J. Sanderson, in 1851-52, mentions (49) "remains of hundreds and hundreds of stone fences from 10 to 12 feet to 20 or 30 yards in diameter, circular, but mostly without any apparent entrance" near "Blauw Krans". This place cannot be located, but probably is east of Rustenburg.

Description of the stone structures.

The Marico-Rustenburg stone kraals which are still intact, resemble exactly the description given

for the Klerksdorp ruins by Wells (43). The settlements are usually situated on hills hidden in the bush or found on sloping ground overlooking the country and are always near spruits which may have had perennial water long ago. The material for the walls is unhewn local stone of irregular shape. Exceptions are (i) a settlement on Kwarriefontein 149 and Vergenoegd 46 which is very well built with round iron stone, the walls being thicker than usual, and (mostly in their original condition) (ii) in two settlements on Honingkrans 215 flat slabs of shale were broken out of a precipice nearby and very nicely packed in line, as mentioned by A. A. Anderson (44).

The walls of homesteads are usually circular for the smaller ones and oval for the larger enclosures, about 12-21 ft. or 35-60 ft. in diameter. Some are irregular in shape with even longer walls and seem to have been cattle kraals. Other circular kraals attached to the homesteads are very small (6-8 ft.), and so many stones have fallen inside that one could imagine that these kraals were much higher than to-day, or even had a stone roof as A. A. Anderson imagined (72). The walls were originally 4-6 ft. high, seldom more. On Honingkrans 215 one fairly large enclosure is nearly 9 ft. high. A kraal has usually one entrance. In some villages 2-3 kraal enclosures interlead with only one entrance from the outside. The entrance may face in any direction; on Honingkrans most entrances face north-west. The edges of the entrance walls can be rectangular or rounded. I have not seen any lintels over an entrance, although a farmer told me that there is one in the village on Selonskraal (Rustenburg). Here and there the entrance is paved.

There are also a few straight or slightly curved low walls, 2-5 ft. high, usually to the outer circle of the village. These walls occasionally have a passage entrance between two overlapping walls. In several villages, e.g. on Droogedal 256, Buispoort 319, Honingkrans 215, such a low wall ends in a flat table-like "pedestal" called "altar" by some farmers. On Droogedal there is a heap of numerous crushed bones in ashes around the altar. This heap is not an ordinary garbage and ash mound as can be seen on Buispoort.

In many stone enclosures there are remains of the foundations of 1-4 former mud huts, recognizable by stone slabs which were inserted in a circle; sometimes two or three circles are linked together. Some of these remains also occur outside the enclosures. These huts, just as the stone huts of type B, were so small that several average-sized persons could not comfortably stretch out when sleeping in them; the diameter of a hut being between 4 and 6 ft.

The layout of some villages shows that the inhabitants of a homestead were individually-minded and had not the Bantu community sense. They built 3 ft. thick enclosure walls, e.g. on Kwarriefontein 149, of different homesteads so close that the open passage in between the walls is too narrow for a normal person to pass through; they did not link up these thick walls to save much work.

On Roode Sloot 141 (Marico) and Selonskraal (Rustenburg) farmers reported that there are small pits, possibly underground granaries. I did not find them.

Here and there I found a piece of iron in the enclosures. Some villages have small smelting furnaces, e.g. on Buispoort. Thick black pots and other utensils found by farmers, or even stone pipes, cannot safely be identified as belonging to the original kraal inhabitants. I cannot say yet what kind of cattle these people raised. Remains of bones are from hunted game or small stock.

L. H. Wells (43) mentions a small stone tool found in a stone enclosure of the Klerksdorp ruins. J. G. Gubbins (57) mentions stone implements in the Klein Marico valley. In the ruins of Dithakong (Vryburg) and Bothitong I found numerous neolithic stone implements as mentioned above (sites 13).

Stone slabs set in a small circle of 2-3 ft. in diameter, often found with a standing stone in the centre, are probably graves. Such graves have been excavated in Kenya and in stone hut settlements (e.g. west of Frankfort).

I cannot yet give many particulars as I did not carry out systematical excavations when I visited the places in 1949 to 1951. I also hesitate to publish particulars concerning the historical aspects of the ruins until I have some results from a carbon

14 test, but I have been asked several times to give preliminary information on what I have been able to discover up to now in connection with Bantu history.

The stone hut villages are more closely related to the stone kraal settlements (type A) as discussed in this article than any other type of ancient remains. The Lydenburg kraals, as described by van Hoepen (8), resemble somewhat the Marico-Rustenburg ruins both in the arrangement and size of the huts and in the type of kraal in general. In the Lydenburg kraals (type B) there are stone huts, in the stone kraal villages (type A) mud huts, perhaps thatched.

Mines in the neighbourhood of the stone kraal villages

Parallel with the chain of ruins in the northern part of Marico district (sites 1) runs a 20-mile chain of ancient copper mines on the Rand van Tweedepoort, the sites being on the farms Alewynkop 94, Schoonlaagte 250, Secheli's oude stad 224, Sebenani 330, Lekkerdorst 247, Vleifontein 117 and Abjaterskop 152. On one hill of Abjaterskop I counted over 40 ancient copper mining shafts or holes. There are few indications of copper on the surface and miners are of opinion that it is astonishing that the ancient prospectors found their copper here.

Many of the early travellers mentioned copper in connection with the Bantu: John Barrow (50, vol. 1, p. 350) in 1806, writes of the Damara "... that their whole existence depended on exchanging copper rings, beads, which they themselves manufactured, with the Biquas to the east, and the Namaaquas to the south. From the Orange River to the tropic, under which these people live, runs a chain of mountains, which, from the various accounts of travellers, are so abundant in copper that it is everywhere found on the surface. From this ore it seems, the Damaras are in possession of the art of extracting the pure metal ..." (a description of the process follows).

H. Lichtenstein (51, vol. II, p. 536-7) says of the Tswana, in 1803-6, that they make flat copper wire from one foot long ingots. Even poor Tswana wear heavy copper rings. According to the analysis done by Klaproth this copper consists of 93 per

cent pure copper and 7 per cent tin, which is similar to the ancient Chaldaean alloy!

W. J. Burchell (52, vol. II, p. 375) refers to "... the Nuakketsies (*Ngwaketse*), whose chief town, larger than Litakun, is situated on a hill and governed by a chief named Makkaba, whose country produces the copper ore which is there manufactured."

In the *Journals of A. G. Bain* who visited the Ngwaketse in 1826, (53, p. 7) we read: "I (H. H. Lister) have found no reference to 'The Mines of Mileta' in other accounts of the country." Burchell refers to the excellent craftsmanship in iron found among the baNgwaketse whose wares were eagerly bought by the baTlhaping. He particularly mentions the "smiths of Melita, the chief town of the Nuaketse. There are deposits of copper and iron in the neighbourhood. The modern name is Makolontwane and it lies north east of Moshaneng, in the Ngwaketse Reserve."

The *Diary of Dr. Andrew Smith 1834-36* (54, vol. II, p. 178) says: "The copper and iron is got at a place called Chocun (footnote by the editor No. 302: 'There are a number of old mine workings in the Western Transvaal. The mines may have been in the Witfonteinrand - N. of Rustenburg - or on the Elandsberg - N. of Brits. The general direction of these places from where Smith was is S.W.') about S.S.E from this; there Matabeli live."

When Moffat visited the baRolong at Sethabeng (Klerksdorp district or near Warrenton?) and Kgongke he watched the work of a coppersmith (55, p. 467), and in the *Matabele Journals of Robert Moffat 1829-1860* (56, p. 62 and p. 466) copper mountains between Mamuri and Kurrenchane (*Kaditshwene*, near the Post Office Enzelsberg in Marico district) and the work of a coppersmith at Kurrechane are mentioned. In 1857 Moffat also mentions (56, vol. II p. 46) copper mountains in Bechuanaland "... passed Chakane pool and reached another containing much water ... If all be well we hope to reach the Phalatae River near to Chopong hills where there are copper mines and abounding tsetse ..." J. G. Gubbins (57) cites Moffat in connection with Sebetwane's Makololo (1824-26) who were also Tswana by origin,

saying about them: "The men during their engagement were nearly naked, having on their heads a round cockade of black ostrich feathers. Their ornaments were large copper rings, sometimes eight in number, worn round their necks." Stow (58, p. 518) shows pictures of copper ingots found among the baKwena.

The Tswana only form part of the south-east and central African complex where we find copper in the hands of Bantu tribes long before the Tswana immigration to South Africa. Even as early as the time of the Arab geographer Abou Abdallah Mohammed el Edrisi (1100-1154), who termed the Bantu *Zendj*, we learn that in all the country of Sofala gold was found in abundance, but the inhabitants preferred copper, and they made their ornaments of copper (59, p. 178). When Vasco da Gama visited the mouth of the Sabi River in 1498, he found that the natives had numerous copper ornaments and that there was copper and tin in abundance. The copper miners of Musina came to Phalaborwa from the east (60). The ancient mines reach as far west as a point situated 62 miles north-west of Francistown and as far north as Katanga.

Mr. Flattery, a miner, who grew up near Zwingli (Marico) explained to me that two different methods of mining had been applied in the Marico copper mines, possibly an ancient and a more recent one by the Bantu. Frobenius's findings for the Rooiberg tin mine (west of Warmbad) point towards the Marico copper deposits and mines. Frobenius also says that ancient mines were filled up with gravel after they had been exploited, but recent native workings were just left as they were. Frobenius (61, p. 283-5) gives an approximate age of the Rooiberg tin mine. A large balloon-shaped mining excavation opens to the surface by a narrow fissure in the rock, through which the annual rains washed down sand; in the dry season this sand formed a layer with a crust. He counted 945 rain seasons or years as the minimum age. He (61, p. 286) also mentions that mining engineers estimated that 3,000 tons of tin were mined in the area Leeuwpoot, Weynek-Rooiberg, and even more ancient tin mines were discovered later in the north. About 40,000 tons of copper

were required to make the ancient type of bronze from this tin. As the Marico copper mines are the largest and the nearest (86 miles to Rooiberg) they must be contemporary with the 1,000-year-old Rooiberg mines.

Drops of the type of bronze mentioned were found in several of the ancient Rhodesian ruins. It may also be worth mentioning that Frobenius found chisels of tempered steel together with handleless stone hammers in the ancient mining strata of Rooiberg. This type of steel is only known in ancient India and the ancient eastern Mediterranean countries. Some Indian chisels of exactly the same shape are shown in museums of Madras. Similar chisels were found in gold mines in Rhodesia, in copper mines including Katanga and in the Niamara ruin in Portuguese territory. As regards copper we should distinguish between ancient and Bantu copper mining, which may, however, have direct connections over a very long period, as both use the Chaldaean alloy with 7 per cent tin and 93 per cent copper.

A carbon 14 test, which will possibly be carried out one day in order to throw some light on the dating of the Marico-Rustenburg ruins, may prove that ruins and ancient copper mines fall in the same period. This would establish the oldest possible period of the ruins, while the youngest possible age will be discussed in connection with Bantu history.

Further sites of ancient mines connected with stone kraals, e.g. in Vryburg, Rustenburg and Marico districts; are indicated on the accompanying map. A prospector believes that the ancient diggings at the end of white quartzite outcrops at Dithakong and Waaihoek and with foundations of individual stone kraals in the near neighbourhood were ancient gold mines.

Observations and explanations of ancient travellers about ruins

Many of the first travellers to the interior of South Africa noticed the Marico-Rustenburg-type (A) of stone kraals and tried to link them with Bantu history.

In 1813, J. Campbell (62, Vol. I, p. 126) visited a site about six miles to the east of "what is now



FIG. 1. - *Foundation stone slabs of small mud-walled huts.*

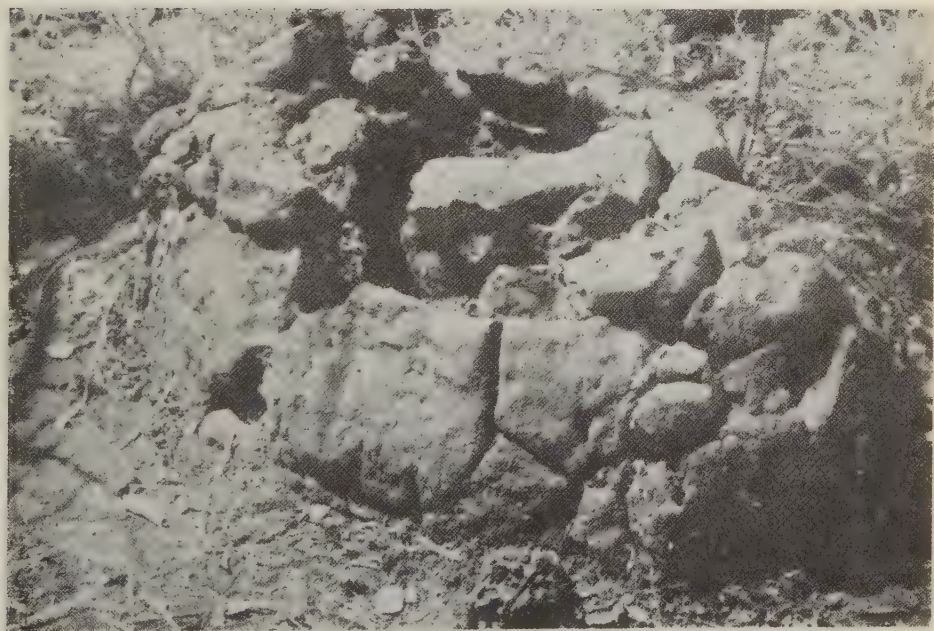


FIG. 2. - *Small smelting furnace in village on Buispoort (Marico district).*



FIG. 3. — *Enclosures on Moe.kwil (Rustenburg district).*



FIG. 4. — *Enclosure built with shale on Honingkrans (Marico).*



FIG. 5. - "Altar" in
village on Droogedal (Marico).

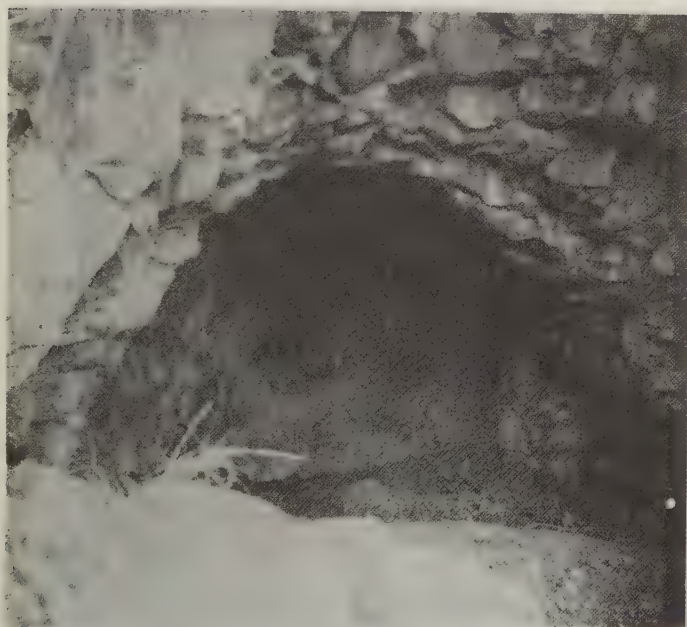


FIG. 6. - Shaft entrance of ancient copper mine filled up with gravel,
near Zwingli (Marico district).

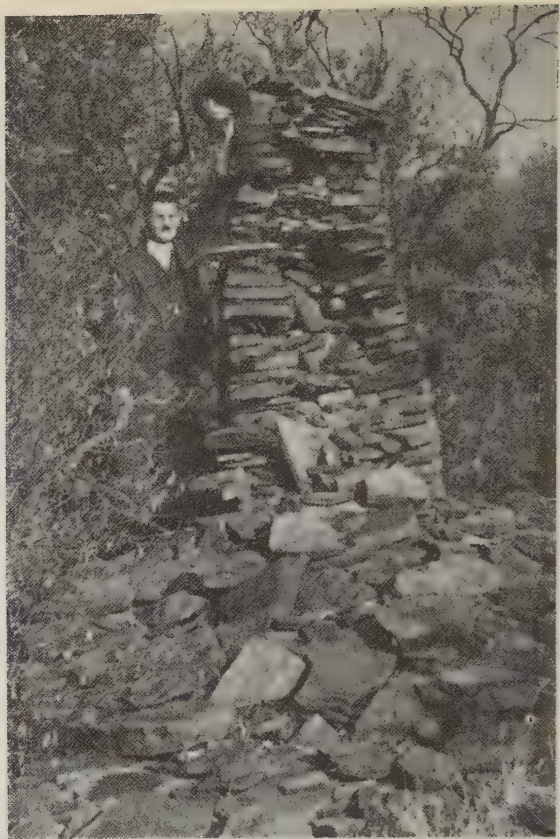


FIG. 7. — *The Anderson village on Honingkrans has one enclosure with a much higher wall than any of the others.*



FIG. 8. — *Stone kraal settlement on Klein Marico taken from height of c. 800 ft.*

called Lattakoo" (*Dithakong*, which means 'at the ruins') and says about it: "... On the road we passed several ancient cattle enclosures built of stone, but by what nation the Matchappees (*ba-Tlhaping*) have no tradition, only they are certain they could not be built by their ancestors, as Matchappee enclosures are all composed of bushes, and one generation adheres strictly to the customs of that which preceded it, but we afterwards discovered that it must have been built by the Marootzee (*baHurutshe*), or some other nation in the direction, who built their enclosures of stone exactly in the form of these ancient ruins. There is little doubt, therefore, but the ancient Marootzee nation had resided in that part of the country which is now possessed by the Matchappees, but the cause of their removing so far is now utterly unknown."

The *Hurutshe* remember that their chieftainess *Mohurutshe* (about 1450) lived at a place Modimong, near Taungs, which is over 50 miles from the Dithakong ruins. The *Hurutshe*, like other Tswana tribes, remember their places of residence very well and up to very remote times. They know, e.g., that *Mohurutshe* broke away from the Kwena-group in the present Rustenburg area, went to the west, passing the hill Ootsê south of Ramoutsa, stayed for a short time among the *ba-Rolong* in the Molopo Reserve and settled at Modimong. Why should they not remember other places if they lived there also? Campbell visited the *Hurutshe* twin capital Tshwenyane and Kadi-tshwene ("Kurrichane") in about 1820, before it was destroyed, and gives a clear description of the town accompanied by some drawings, but says nothing about stone enclosures in this area where the sons of *Mohurutshe*, *Motebele* and *Motebejane*, founded the town between 1470 and 1520. He would have noticed stone kraals as he knew them from the Tlhaping country. The above-mentioned Tlhaping argument about tradition applies to the *baHurutshe* as well as to the *baTlhaping* who are descendants of the Rolong-Digôja (Lighoya) group. Near the place Modimong of the *Hurutshe* village of 1450-80 are also stone structures, but these are so numerous all over Taung district that the ancient stone builder population must have

been about ten times larger than the *Hurutshe* section could possibly have been.

The Rev. Robert Moffat did not take much interest in ancient stone kraals, but when he passed the Lotlhakane River (Mafeking district), in 1835, he remarks (56, vol. I, p. 57): "The fences all of stone, are still a good height, considering that they were built in times of the father of *Tlou* when the Barolongs were the sole masters of all the country from Kuruman to the Molopo. The appearance of these towns indicates that nature or the earth is decaying, for there must have been an abundance of water requisite for such a population where there is now nothing, except occasionally a few pools of rain water." This is the ruined town of Dithakong near Mafeking. The ancient places in *Rolong* tradition are Tsebetwane (near Disaneng, Molopo Reserve), Mosita (where *Ratlou* died), Setlagole, Khunwana and Phitshane, but not Dithakong! This is one of many cases where natives mention any of the ancient chiefs they know, to explain the existence of ruined towns. The name Dithakong already indicates that they found "ruins" when the place was named.

When Moffat visited the former *Hurutshe* capital "Kurrichane" (*Kadi-tshwene*) in 1835, he did not mention stone kraals, but typical remains of a Bantu town (56, vol. I, p. 99-100): "Now nothing remains but the circular foundation of houses, marked by thin slabs of stone standing upright in the ground. . . . Innumerable vestiges remain of towns, and some very large ones. Some are miles is circumference, which must have cost immense labour, being entirely built of stones, that is, the fences and folds; also the lower part of the houses, of the part of which there are but few vestiges, having been built of clay mixed with cowdung."

In 1836, Captain W. C. Harris (63, p. 65-66) who after following the route of the "Sicklagole" (*Setlagole*) and "Meritsane" (*Mareetsane*) Rivers, reached the "Lotlokane" (*Lotlhakane*) spruit, reports: "During the day passed another extensive ruins stone town . . . The walls extend more than a mile on each side of the road, and the plain on which it is constructed is thickly covered with a species of wild basil . . . It was nearly dark when we reached the Molopo River, a few miles below

its source." About 10 days later Harris reached "Kapain" (Zilkaatskop), travelled three days "a little southward of east", reached the Marico river on 26th October and followed it for 2 days until he could cross the Marico. After travelling 15 miles, he reached the Toelanie, where he made the following observation on the 29th October: "... Leaving the Tolaan River (Toelanie=*Tholwane*), we passed between two ranges of hills, and travelled nearly south-east, over a rugged country, strewn with huge loose masses of stone, and thickly covered with low bush. To the right, extensive stone walls marked the site of a once flourishing Bamaliti (*baMalete*) town, now destroyed." This site is somewhere between the present farms Turflaagte 113 and Silverkrans 884. The *Malete* town was probably Lotlhakane, which was destroyed by the *Hurutshe* in 1816-17. After this war the *Malete* joined the *Hurutshe* of *Kaditshwene* under *Senosi*. The *Malete* undertook long migrations during their history, but nothing is known about their having the custom of building stone kraals. Why should they drop the custom between 1816 and the time Campbell visited *Senosi* four years later? They probably made use of sites of ancient-built villages as the *Tlhaping*, *Rolong* and *baKwena ba Modimosana* did. (cf. 64, paras. 68, 649, 654).

In 1835, A. G. Bain (53, p. 138) records the following: "Leaving the Hart River, we passed the ruins of a very extensive Bechuana town, its numerous stone kraals being still in a good state of repair, though it was forsaken by its inhabitants on the irruption of the Mantatees (1823) about twelve years ago." These ruins must be somewhere between the Harts and the Setlagole Rivers, in the area of the *Tlhaping* and *Rolong*, who maintain that they never built in stone.

In 1869 A. A. Anderson says the following about a site near the Mareetsane and the Setlagole River (44, p. 87): "Close to that pretty isolated hill, Swaartberg, are the ruins of a very ancient town, Kunam (*Khunwana*?): whether they were built by Kaffirs or the race that built the other stone huts mentioned in a previous chapter, there is no history to prove. There are many strange tales handed down to the present generation of its being

one large town, the seat of a powerful chief, and of some great battles having been fought there. The ruins indicate it to have been at some remote period a large town. Near it are extensive pans, that at one time must have held water to a great depth, as the banks and cliffs clearly prove: now only in the summer months water is found in them. Not far from them there are some dried-up springs, the water of which was conveyed away by a sluice passing into the Maretsane." I could not find any ruins in this area, which may be the area of the Setlagole ruins.

After Anderson had seen stone huts near the Orange River (44, p. 215) in 1871, he visited some of the Marico ruins. He located them somewhere on the Bechuanaland border in the Marico district and says about them (44, vol. I, p. 37-38, Vol. II, p. 55): "These extensive kraals must have been erected by a white race who understood building in stone and at right angles, with doorposts, lintels and sills, and it required more than Kaffir skill to erect the stone huts, with stone circular roofs, beautifully formed, and most substantially erected, strong enough, if not disturbed, to last a thousand years, as the walls and roofs of the huts were 2 ft. in thickness, built of partly hewn stone. The divisional walls and outer wall were 5 and 6 ft. in thickness, and at the present time 5 ft. in height at places, the upper stones having fallen. . . . But in no case have I discovered any trace of mortar or any implements. Plenty of broken crockery is found in the ground when it is turned up. Kaffirs have never been known to build their huts with stone or make fences at right angles." There are two extensive remains of such "stone towns" in the Marico district if we can rely on Anderson's description and drawing. He says: "They are not seen until you are close upon them." His drawing shows 10 huts which might be 12 to 15 ft. high (cf. also new edition in one volume, London, 1888, p. 277).

J. G. Gubbins who lived near some Marico ruins and R. F. A. Hoernlé (2) could not find the Anderson ruins. Hoernlé is right if he suspects that Anderson's description is not quite reliable, and that he has drawn his sketch from memory and embellished it from his imagination, I enquir-

ed after stone huts throughout the district except along the south-western boundary where Hoernlé mentions Mr. Gubbins searching unsuccessfully, and the southernmost part of the Moilwa Reserve where the poor dolomite soil is not even suitable for grazing and probably never was of any use. When we plot the routes which the old travellers used from Kuruman to Zeerust, we find that they followed roughly what is to-day the modern road via Ottoshoop-Mosega-Jacobsdal. Anderson would not have departed far from this road into unknown country without mentioning the fact. This leaves only one likely locality for Anderson's ruins, which are moreover supposed to have been in hilly country. On Honingkrans 215 there are the only two ruined villages where the building material of Anderson's description was used and broken out of the rocky precipice. The walls of the village do not appear to have belonged to any stone huts, because the groundplans of the two villages show far too many large enclosures for the relatively few small enclosures which might be taken for huts. I am of opinion that Anderson saw these villages which I found in the Baskop Hills. The walls of the villages suffer constant damage from baboons looking for scorpions among the stones.

J. G. Gubbins (65) cites M. C. Theal, saying: "The baTaungs afterwards known as Leghoyas were perhaps the first immigrants to settle here. They differed from the Betchuana tribes in one special particular. They built not only the cattle kraals, but also the walls of their huts of stone. By the remains of these structures their wandering may be traced from their first settlement South of the Zambezi, for no other tribe used this material so extensively. Yet they never dressed a block, but simply selected stones from the neighbourhood of their kraals and piled them up with mud for plaster to the required height."

This is one of the typical examples of the many attempts to explain antiquity, no matter whether these attempts were made by modern European scientists or contained in Bantu tradition relations, viz. if the originators are lost in obscurity, they all attribute the ruins to one or two of the earliest and vaguely known chiefs or tribes.

An ancient unknown population and early Bantu

here and there chose the same places of residence for natural reasons; both groups of immigrants looked for the best place in respect of water, defence or outlook onto the plains. If the second immigrants found ruins they may well have used and repaired them. This is the more probable as the first immigrants who built stone kraals were more numerous than the *Digôja*, *Rolong* and *Kwena-Hurutshe* immigrants.

In a similar way many farmers have, until the present day, called the stone structures "*Matebele*-kraals", only because the *Matebele* occupied the country before them and the present re-immigrating Tswana, and because they do not know anything about the *Matebele*. Moffat (56, vol. I, p. 100) says: "When Moselekatse's turn comes to be swept from the face of the earth with, it is hoped, all his diabolical tyranny, no vestige will remain to point out to the traveller the nature or extent of the town he inhabited, as they are composed entirely of bushes and grass." Indeed, in the very place, a shallow valley, of Mzilikazi's camp at Mosega, not far from the ruins, I saw no remains of any stone structures.

Tswana history and the sites of stone kraal ruins

In connection with the Ethnic Survey, Tswana section, which is being done by the Department of Native Affairs, some more unknown items about the historical relations of some Union Tswana tribes were revealed. The Tswana were probably the earliest of the larger Bantu tribes in the Union. The Nguni group (Cape Nguni and Zulu-Ndebele-Swazi) are a completely different group in regard to history, migration and culture pattern and have no connection with any stone structures. Different from the Tswana is also the Venda-Lobedu-Mamabolo group which has historical relations with the Karanga and ancient Rhodesian culture pattern. They pushed some original inhabitants of the north-eastern Transvaal further south. There may have been small tribes when the Tswana immigrated, but nothing is known of them.

Now-a-days, the Sotho-Tswana group comprises the North-Sotho, Tswana and South-Sotho. The North-Sotho are a mixture of a small original population, immigrants from the east and south-

east (*Koni*, *Tau*, etc.) and Tswana immigrants. *Gananwa* (about 1500), *Kwena*, *Moletše* and *Tlokwa* came into the northern Transvaal at an early period. After them the rulers of the *Pedi* were of *Kgatla* origin. The South-Sotho have more recently come into existence through the merging of Tswana, some Nguni and a small original population. If any of these Bantu tribes ever originally built in stone all over South Africa, only the Tswana could be taken into consideration.

The Tswana immigrants came to South Africa in three successive groups :

(1) The *Digója* (in literature also called *Lighoya*) as part of the *Rolong*. We do not yet know much about their earliest history. They are said to have mixed with Khoi-San and are even called "Bushmen" by other Tswana tribes. The *Digója* no longer exist as a tribe and little is recorded about their last chief who was killed about 1820. The present *baTaung*, *baKubung* and *baPhiring* are the descendants of the *Digója*.

(2) The second group of immigrants are the *Rolong* whose first two chiefs lived, roughly, about 1300. The *Kaa* (c. 1550) and the *Tlhaping* (c. 1650-1700) are younger branches of the *Rolong*. The *Rolong* claim to have arrived in South Africa before the third group of Tswana, although some of them believe that the *Rolong* and *Kwena* parted in the Molopo region.

(3) The third and largest group of Tswana, the *Kwena-Hurutshe*, arrived in South Africa between 1300 and 1400.

The *Rolong* as well as the *Kwena-Hurutshe* believe that their remote forefathers came from the region of the rising sun, but they themselves came from the north of the equator. This accounts for the custom of the Tswana of burying their dead facing eastwards. Their traditions regarding the position of the sun before and after their crossing of the equator is proof of their north-to-south migration. The old men relate that their forefathers had a vague recollection of a land of large lakes, much rain, great rivers and high mountains. We do not know the route of the Tswana migration. They may have come through Bechuanaland where they do not remember any ancient place

names, but may as well have crossed the Limpopo in the north, if there were no tsetse fly as early as 1300.

The Tswana are not pure negroid Bantu in race and culture. We do not know with which peoples they came into contact. On their way south or even earlier they were subject to influences which can be ascribed to Hamitic and Semitic origin. They could even have learnt building in stone from the ancient builders. They also mixed with the Khoi-San. It is certain that the Tswana migration took place before the first Monomotapa (about 1450) and the first Mambo ruled the tribes in Rhodesia. So, if the Tswana built with stone they certainly did not learn the technique in the ancient Rhodesian Bantu kingdoms.

When comparing the sites of ruins with the Tswana places of residence we have to examine the last and third migration first in order to see what possibilities remain for the earlier migrations. When the *Kwena-Hurutshe* were still one tribe, before about 1450, they lived under their first chiefs in the Rustenburg-Brits area at Mabyanamatswhaana (Zwartkoppies), and slowly expanded to the west, north and south. In this area there is no concentration of stone-walled villages on the hills. Natives of Hebron relate vaguely that they have heard of a small site of ruins.

Owing to drought and famine (according to the tradition of several tribes) the *Kwena* split, and several new tribes were formed within two or three generations. At this time or soon after (about 1450-1550) they occupied a country which may be circumscribed as follows: In the south-east stretching from the Seven-mile spruit to the Klip River near Johannesburg and Heidelberg, in the south to Vereeniging, Parys, Klerksdorp and west of Hartebeestfontein on the Klerksdorp-Lichtenburg district boundary near the siding Melliodora, in the west near the Marico-Rustenburg boundary on the Toelanie (*Tholwane*) River, in the north the Elands River (Rustenburg district) and in the north-east on the Crocodile River, but not as far up as Thabazimbi. The stone hut culture extends into the south-eastern part of the ancient *Kwena* country, but has nothing to do with the *Kwena* as these huts do not appear in the central *Kwena*

country. The other places in the south have no stone kraal ruins except for the Klerksdorp district (the sites A, 8), but no remains are found in the flat country around Melliodora.

Seniority in the *Kwena-Hurutshe* group is claimed by the *Hurutshe*, by the *baKwena ba-Phógólé* and by the *baKwena ba Mogópa*, and, according to some informants, even by the *Kwena* of *Molepolole* and *baKwena ba Modimosana*. We cannot yet make a clear decision as to this point. For the purpose of this discussion I group the tribes according to seniority as it now seems probable to me (cf. 66). The first group here are the *Hurutshe* tribes. At the time of the separation of the *Kwena* they lived in the western part of the country, near Toelanie River, probably 20 miles north of W. C. Harris's "Malete" ruins. The *Hurutshe* always had the highest rank in ceremonial matters, but lost their political priority when there was no male issue in the chief's great house and the *Kwena* would not recognize the female chief *Mohurutshe*. She left for Taungs as mentioned above in connection with Campbell's observations. If the *Kwena-Hurutshe* group built stone kraals, at least the high ranking tribes of this group should have done so also. There are no "Oer-Bahurutshe" (Pre-*baHurutshe*) in Marico district who could have built ruins because the first *Hurutshe* who settled in the district were the sons of *Mohurutshe*, *Motebele* and *Motebejane*, who between 1470 and 1520 founded the *Hurutshe* twin capital Tshwenyane (near the P.O. Enzelsberg on Mezeg 139) and its later extension Kaditshwene (on Bloemfontein 223). When these two sons fought a war against each other in the time when Tshwenyane was founded, *Motebejane* fortified the rocks of Tshwenyane. After about 1600, the *Hurutshe* expanded to the west and even later again to the east, but not south until 1823 (to Mosega), and not north until 1882. The ruins stretch for many miles far away north and south of the ancient *Hurutshe* country. Even the ruins west of Tshwenyane, such as those on Buispoort or in the Moilwa Reserve, are not proper old places of *Hurutshe* residence. It is remarkable how well the tribal native historians still know the old places of residence. They would well remember places of the stone-kraal builders

with such a numerous population if these had been *Hurutshe*, *Kwena* or *Rolong*.

The second group of the *Kwena-Hurutshe* are proper *Kwena* tribes. The *baKwena ba Phógólé* whose later descendants are the *baKhuḁu* (later lived in the south-east near Heidelberg), *baKwena ba Mongatane*, *baFokeng ba Mmutle* (Basutoland), *baKwena ba Phógólé ba Mare* (in the south between Johannesburg and Parys), several *baFokeng* tribes now in Basutoland (viz. *baKomane*, *ba Dijane*, *ba Motanyane*, *baMakare*, *baPhaatsa*), *baFokeng ba-Motlatla*, who left for the south in a time of starvation, and the *baFokeng*, now in Rustenburg, all had their early home country between the present town of Rustenburg and the Elands River. Several places in this area still bear the names of some of their first chiefs (48, p. 57 ff.). The date of this period may be indicated by the fact that the first chief of the present Rustenburg *baFokeng*, *Sekete III*, who died in about 1750, was the 13th *Kwena* chief known. No ruins are found either in the earlier or in the later places (after about 1600-1700) they occupied, except for one site as mentioned under (5) of this type A, for which tradition has not even an old place-name. I have no knowledge as to the dating and places of residence of some Basutoland tribes of this group. But if these did not build in stone under their parent tribes, why should they do so later in Basutoland? They could have learnt only from an earlier population, such as some early Sotho and Digója, who may have had contact with the original stone builder population.

The oldest known place of the *baKwena ba Mogópa*, which was near that of the *Kwena* now at Molepolole, the *baKwena ba Modimosana*, the *baKwena ba Molotšwane*, the *baKwena ba Moletše* and *baPhalane*, was Rathateng on the bank of the lower Crocodile River about east of Northam and probably falls in the time after the first separation of the *Kwena* tribes (c. 1450-1500). No ruins are yet known in this area or in places they occupied afterwards. Later the *baMogópa* migrated back to their former country, the *baModimosana* to the area between the Roos spruit (Zwartkoppies 116) and Ratsagae's Location, mainly on the Selons River. The *Kwena* now at Molepolole, lived at

Dithêjwane hills, south-west of Molepolole about 1700. The *baKwena baMoletše*, now near Pietersburg, went north. The *baPhalane* remained near the old place Rathateng. The *baKwena baMolotšwane* who are a junior branch of the *Kwena* at Molopolole, lived at the hill Pôwê near Dinokana before 1700, then at Tafelkop west of Koster and towards the end of the 18th century at Platberg near Hartebeestfontein (Ventersdorp district). All these places, except for one, have no ruins. According to the tradition of the *baKwena baModimosana baMmatau* the extensive ruins at Moedwil and Selonskraal (site A, 7) were built by Chief *Sekano* (48, para. 273) who lived about 1730-40. Earlier and contemporary places of residence of the four *baModimosana* tribes are now known, but there are no remains of a similar kind. If we are to believe my native informants, only this one chief had the splendid idea of building stone kraals which show an experienced style of workmanship! We can compare the building technique of the walls with the cattle kraals of the *baPo* chief *Moerane* (48, para. 464) who lived 20 years later than *Sekano* and only 25 miles further east, and we can see the striking difference in the building method of Bantu and non-Bantu.

A third and younger group of *Kwena* descendants are the *Ngwato* and *Ngwaketse* who first lived near the *Kwena* (of Molepolole at Dithubaruba) at Khale in the present Gaberones district (68 and 69). If these three tribes had built stone kraals in the 17th century, there should be numerous remains of the deserted villages. Most of the ruins in Bechuanaland are further north and older than the Tswana immigration into this area, viz. the *Khurutshe* immigration about 1500, *Kaa* between 1550 and 1600 or *Ngwato* to Shoshong in about 1700. The site of the Gakala ruins and ancient mines (30, XVI) falls in the area of the three *Kwena* tribes, but the stone structures appear to be much older than 1600.

The second wave of immigrants into the present Union, the *Rolong*, according to their tradition (67), did not live in the hilly part of Marico district. They occupied the flat country in the south-west corner of the district having no ruins and the Molopo region. Tsebetwane is mentioned as one

of their oldest places which, we know, was already occupied before 1450. There are two places with the same name in the ancient *Rolong* country: at Disaneng in the present Molopo Reserve and in the flat country of the south-western Marico district. Both places have no remains of any stone structures. The first fourteen *Rolong* chiefs probably did not live much further south than the present Mafeking district at Mosita, Setlagole, Khunwana and on the banks of the Molopo River. In connection with ruins we need not consider the younger branches of the *Rolong*, *Tlhaping* and *Kaa*. If the stone kraals in the south, in Vryburg and Taung districts and on the Harts River, were really built by the *Rolong* this could only have been done after about 1680 under Chief *Tau* or even as early as 1600. It is not so hard for a *Morolong* who takes an interest in the history of his people, to recollect something about important places, chiefs and principal events of this period, but the *Rolong* maintain that it is not their custom to build stone-walled villages. Furthermore, if the kraals had really been built by *Tau* as is surmised, why did his son *Ratlou* then give up the custom when he came to Mosita in about 1720-40? At Mosita there are no stone walls, except for a fortification on the hill Majaaga-Motlhare (Blaauwkrans) dating from the time between 1740 and 1770, and built in a war by the *Hurutshe*.

After about 1750 the *Rolong* sections lived in separate areas. The *Tlhaping*, who had separated from the *Rolong* and fought them successfully in the second half of the 17th century, remained in the south. They assured Campbell in 1813 that it was not their custom to build with stone. The senior section of the *baRolong booRatlou*, the *boo-Mariba* branch, in the second half of the 18th century settled in Vryburg district. If they had built the stone kraals north of the Morokweng reserve their tradition would still give some information about the fact. The other half of this branch, the *baRolong booRatlou booSeitshiro*, lived at Setlagole and Khunwana. We cannot yet locate the Setlagole ruins of A. A. Anderson, but there are none at Khunwana, and old men know nothing about stone kraals as part of *Rolong* tradition. The *baRolong booRatshidi* lived in the northern part of

the country, the *booRapulana* to the east, and the *booSeleka* at an early period went as far east as the ruins of Klerksdorp and to the Maquassi River where they remained until 1824-30. It is not likely that only they and not all *Rolong* of this period built stone kraals and this only in Klerksdorp district. In the time of the *Taung* (1824) and the *Matebele* (1832) wars some of the other *Rolong* sections fled to Motshewapetlwane (Thabeng or Platberg on Buispoort, north of Klerksdorp) and Mathwang (between Klerksdorp and Potchefstroom) and the *booSeleka* left this part of the country because of over-population and settled at Thaba Nchu. In 1823, the *Rolong* tribes at Thaba Nchu and in Klerksdorp district were visited by the Methodist missionaries, Broadbent and Thomas Hodgson, and a mission station for the *Rolong* was established on the Maquassi River (70). They and also the Rev. Ludorf who was at Thaba Nchu before 1858 (71) do not describe ruins in connection with the *Rolong*. The *baRolong booMariba* of Phitshane, in 1872 settled at Majieng, one mile west of Phitshane where stone kraals which reveal inferior skill in their construction can be seen. They did not build them, and other *Rolong* have no historical explanation either for the place or for the ruins. There was only one historical event at this place: the *Rolong* defeated the *Taung* of *Moletsane* here in 1824. Ruins of some importance in the ancient *Rolong* country are those at Dithakong near Mafeking and at Setlagole. Dithakong is not a place of ancient *Rolong* tradition and the Setlagole ruins would again form an isolated occurrence if they existed at all. Having viewed the problem from various angles, I come to the conclusion that building with stone does not comply with the *Rolong* custom and the history of settlements.

As there is scarcely any indication that the Tswana of the second and third wave of migration to the Union built stone kraal villages, there still remains the question whether the first immigrants, the *Digôja* (Lighôya), of the period about 1300 or earlier, could have done so. We know nothing about them, and that is the reason why they are regarded as the builders in literature (e.g. 65). Two facts speak against this.

(1) The *Digôja* were a section of the *Rolong* who left earlier for the south. Why should their cultural pattern be different from that of *Rolong* and Tswana, who always used to adhere to their traditional customs? Why should they have developed a highly skilled building technique without any compelling reason? Stone buildings develop in countries that lack wood. All three Tswana migrations passed Rhodesia in a period long after the ancient type of ruins had come into existence, and long before Bantu took up building with stone there.

(2) If the *Digôja* had built all the stone kraal villages in Rustenburg, Marico, Klerksdorp, Mafeking, Vryburg and Taungs districts, they would have been much more numerous than any other migrating people to South Africa. Some people even attribute the stone huts to them, a supposition which would lead to the conclusion that half the present Union had been in their hands. Some informants and sources believe that the *Digôja* were pushed south by the *Rolong* after they had lived in the Marico district. It is hard to believe that a more numerous population in the excellent fortified stone kraals on the hills could not resist the immigrants who had no superior weapons. In those ancient times there was space enough to occupy land without fighting. In view of what we know regarding the origin and numbers of tribes in South Africa and their relations, very little material remains to collect about the *Digôja*, who were probably a very small group only and therefore also mixed with the Bush race.

Conclusion

Our knowledge of the Tswana and S.A. Bantu history does not justify the conclusion that the origin of the extensive field of over 100 villages of stone structures in the western part of the Union of South Africa can be attributed to them. The stone kraal settlements must have been deserted before the first Tswana immigration into South Africa took place. It does not even seem as though the Tswana occupied this country by force or had any intensive contact with the stone kraal dwellers; it seems that they found the country unoccupied except for some Khoi-San (at Taung,

Pilansberg and Marico). The stone kraals may be very old and may have been deserted as early as 900 A.D., as pointed out in connection with copper mining, or they were deserted between this time and the 13th or 14th century. A carbon 14 test may give more indications as to the exact date. Seeing that the ruins are not part of the Tswana tradition, the possibility arises that we are here dealing with the southernmost section of the large complex of various ancient immigrants who exploited the minerals, built stone kraals and other stone structures including terraces and irrigation schemes, stone rings on graves, monoliths and long walls all over the eastern half of Africa from the Yemen in Southern Arabia and Abyssinia down to Taung and Basutoland in South Africa.

Therefore one should make three historical and cultural distinctions:

(1) In Rhodesia and the north-eastern Transvaal, viz. among the Venda, Lobedu and Pedi, we find some aspects of Bantu culture pointing to the ancient Abyssinian culture or "Azanian civilization", including the Holy Arc tradition (39). This Bantu immigration of the "Rhodesian Culture" of the Shoko Mbire (1450 A.D.), Roswi and the Venda branch, came to Rhodesia much later than the Zimbabwe Culture (600-1000 A.D.). The isolation of the Tswana from this culture complex, the "Rhodesian Culture", may be indicated by the fact, that their customs have none of the characteristics of this culture pattern which includes a hierarchy of chief's officers, marriage of the royal sister, the function of the queen and "queen mother" in tribal government, female priests, chief's re-incarnation as a lion, the kings' sacred drums, sacred fires identified with the chief's life, royal suicide, legendary importance of the moon as a man, with the evening and morning stars as his wives, phalli as important symbols, symbols of female fertility, cults with extreme forms of possession, etc.

The Tswana (Bechuana) of the Digôja-Rolong group and the Kwena-Hurutshe group as well as the early "Sotho", came earlier to South Africa (about 1300 and up to 1400) than the Bantu of the "Rhodesian Culture" to Rhodesia (c. 1450),

although the latter found an earlier small Bantu population, e.g. Tonga and others, in the country.

The stone hut settlements in the eastern half of the Union, however, have direct historical connections with some early Bantu immigrants (early "Sotho"), and may have been built (even by Bantu) more recently than the culturally related stone kraals in the West. Only certain processes of the ancient miners, such as e.g. the Chaldaean alloy, have been taken over by the Tswana in the West.

(2) The large stone structures of the superior style of the Limpopo Valley in Southern Rhodesia, Northern Bechuanaland Protectorate and Northern Transvaal, as well as those in Abyssinia and Southern Arabia are connected with extensive mining and trading activities from Katanga in the Belgian Congo to Rooiberg in the Transvaal or even to Taung in the Northern Cape Province. These stone structures are typical late megalithic, which also has its origin somewhere around the ancient Abyssinian state of Aksum (400 B.C. to 800 A.D.) and the Egyptian mining state of Napata (800 B.C. to 600 A.D.) in the Sudan. In connection with Southern Rhodesia we speak of a "Zimbabwe culture" although I would prefer the terms "Late African Megalithic" or "Stonebuilder, Mining and Trading Culture".

One could assume that the late neolithic South African stone kraals are part of this Rhodesian megalithic since the cultural activities are similar. At least they may have been contemporaries, as old Portuguese sources indicate the possibility that a neolithic population with short bodies were the miners for the "Torwa" people who are said to have been the builders of Zimbabwe, or for the Abyssinian traders on the Zambezi (e.g. the Vaklimi, 800-1000 A.D.).

(3) Another possibility, in my opinion, is that the advanced and the simple stone builders are not the same, although they made contact with each other. The latter appear earlier in Eastern Africa, as e.g. represented in Kenya 850 B.C., having grown out of the neolithic by ancient megalithic influence and having survived until 900 or 1300 A.D. in South Africa, Rhodesia, Kenya (until 1500), etc., until the time of the principal Bantu immigrations.

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(i) The old Tati ruin on the southern bank of the Tati River 20 miles S. E. of Francistown ; (ii) on the northern bank of the Tati River near the Selkirk mine ; (iii) 5 miles S. W. of Bosoli siding on Farm No. 345 in the Tati Concession ; (iv) 12 miles E. S. E. of Francistown on farm No. 345, mentioned by ancient travellers such as Moffat, Holub in *Sieben Jahre in Südafrika*, and by E. A. Maund ; (v) Domboshabe ruins visited by Frobenius in 1926, situated 15 miles W. of Ramaquabane siding and 7 miles N. E. of Kalakamati store (excavations, gold work, soapstone sculptures, beads and wire work) ; (vi) ruins 2 miles N. W. of Ramaquabane siding ; (vii) Lagaboshu ruins about 5 miles from Ramoshangwane and 3 miles E. of the Needle Rock (Monyaoloshwe) ; (viii) Lekobong ruins about 100 miles N. of Serowe and 40 miles W. of Francistown ; (ix) old type of ruins on the southern bank of the Maclautse River below the junction with the Lothakane River at Madinare store (27° E. long. 21° S. lat.) ; (x) Mmalekahe ruins, 10-20 miles W. of Shashi railway siding ; (xi) the ruins of the type F on the northern bank of the Suka River, 13 miles N. of the Lotsane near the confluence with the Limpopo - Lotsane-Limpopo ruins are mentioned by Hall and Neal ; (xii) on top of the Marakalalo koppie near the Limpopo River, 13-14 miles from Matsaneng Police camp ; (xiii) Semalili ruins, four sets, 20 miles W. of Tuli near the telephone line ; (xiv) Baobabkop ruins, 8 miles S. of the confluence of the Shashi and Shashani and 3 miles N. of the telephone line Maklautsi-Tuli ; (xv) several sets of ruins on the Lipokolo hills, 45 miles W. of Tuli, which are 2 and 5 miles N.W. of Letsele and 8 miles N.E. of Maklautsi ; (xvi) Gakala ruins, old style, and ancient mines nearby, midway between Kgope hill and Lentswe-la-Tau, one mile N. of the Mochudi road. Ancient mines are also near Gakala on the Maokagane hills, N. of Molepolole ;

(xvii) on the farm No. 64 in the Tati Concession ; (xviii) ancient type of ruins on the western bank of the Vukwe river, adjoining farm No. 5 ; (xix) the site described by G. A. Farini (31) and indicated about 12 miles S. of "Lehutitung" (Lehututu) on his map does not comply with any style of ancient ruins and is for good reasons believed not to exist at all.

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CULTURAL VERSE-FORMS IN SWAHILI

LYNDON HARRIES *

SYNOPSIS

From earlier manuscripts, mostly in Arabic script, different types of verse-form are identified in the following study of Swahili poetry. The formal quatrain is shown to have been the most popular form when Swahili poetry was at its best, in the middle and second half of the last century. The author provides examples of what were probably much older verse-forms, especially long-measure verse. An example is given from the earliest extant Swahili manuscript poem, Umm al-Qura, by Sayyid Aidarus, written in A.D. 1749.

Modern Swahili poets do not all observe the canons of traditional verse, nor do they experiment in so wide a field as the earlier writers. This is partly due to the scarcity of early manuscripts and subsequent ignorance of the earlier manner. The present article is the first study of its kind, based on existing material.

I. INTRODUCTION

A distinction can usually be made, in the study of early Swahili manuscripts in Arabic script, between Swahili literary compositions based on Arabian models and those inspired by the indigenous Bantu context. Both types of composition were foreign to traditional Bantu life, though the second type may be found incorporated into Swahili ritual. Marriage-songs, for instance, consist not only of the shorter utterances belonging to oral tradition, but also of poems written for the occasion. These may not follow any Arabian prosodic pattern, but are nevertheless foreign to Bantu culture in being a conscious literary composition. It is not always possible to draw a sharp dividing line between the oral and literate origin of some of these poems included in the performance of Swahili ritual, but generally the distinction is clear enough.

2. THE MAVUGO WEDDING-SONGS

These provide examples of metrical un-rhymed verse, and take their name from the *vugo* (pl. *ma-*) or buffalo-horn, which, beaten with a wooden rod to make it resound, formed the musical ac-

companiment to the prose-poem and marked the pace of its rhythm. This rhythmic prose may be the earliest type of Swahili verse, though no external evidence can be adduced to establish this. The freedom from Arabic borrowings is not in itself an argument for their essentially Bantu origin, but it must be noted that these *mavugo* songs are not so Arabicised as the more cultured verse-forms. The following transcription from scripts belonging to Sheikh Mbarak Ali Hinawy of Mombasa is an example of a poem beginning with a conventional opening by the poet:

*Pani kivanda niteze polepole mtu mweni,
huno utumveni wangu si wenyeji wenu!
mtu mweni utimbile kisima kuwanywesha wenye-
jiwe mayi!
akima kupata mayi akapija panda aketa wana-
wanyema ndooni muole!
wana wanyema wakiya wakima na kulia ya ku-
shindwa ndiyo ada ya waume.*

"Yield to me the minstrel's court that I, a stranger, may sing gently,
For this my service is not as your citizenship.
A stranger dug a well that he might give the citizens to drink.

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Having found water he stood and blew a horn
and called the good people, Come and see.
And the good folk came and stood and cried,
It is the lot of men to be left some hope."

A few so-called *mavugo* songs have both rhyme and a set measure of syllables (Sw. *mizani*), but possibly these are not true *mavugo* songs, but are so termed only because of their association with a marriage festival. The following example is from the Hichens Collection in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies :

*Kaenge kaenge pepo zavuma/
zavumia shasha na mwana fatuma/
fatuma yu mbele shasha yu nyuma/
twende mti gani twendao kwegema/
mti mwenye tunda na maua mema,*

"Look, look, the winds do blow.
On Ayesha and on Fatuma too,
Fatuma is first and then Ayesha, I trow,
On which tree may we lean and to which do we
go ?
To the tree that with fruit and with flowers doth
grow."

3. THE GUNGU SONGS

A loose sheet in Taylor's manuscripts ¹ gives an extremely interesting text from Lamu concerning the *gungu* songs :

*Huku Amu walipokwenda wakitaka fanya gungu
hupeleka upatu kwa shaha na fedha ndani yakwe na
tambuu nyingi na maji na sukari.*

*Nalo gungu ni patu kubwa lapigwa. Nda asili lile
patu latoka Shirazi. Na gungu shati nda harus.*

*Basi shaha huweta wale washairi wenziwe walio
tini yakwe, wakaja wakagawanya upatu. Wakisha
gawanya, hutunga shairi. Shaha akafunga nyama.
Maana ya kufunga nyama ni kufunga nyama kwa
fumbo. Na lile shairi hawaambiwi maana yakwe lile
fumbo, hawatajia tu.*

*Wakenda wakaaza ile jawabu yakwe majumbani
mwao, hatta usiku ikiandikwa gungu kule hamsini.*

*Huyo shaha hutoa ule wimbo wake wa kufunga
nyama, basi akafungua. Akatoka mtu kujibu. Basi
akiwa anamfungua nyama shaha hupigapiga upanga,
maana kumtambulisha kwamba nyama unamfungua
wewe. Yule mwenyewe akajua nyama namfungua.
Basi hutunga wimbo wa kujisifu.*

*Na akitomfungua, yule shaha humtungia wimbo wa
kumvika guni, maana, kumtokoza, kumtahayarisha
kwamba nyama hukumfungua, hukumjua nyama.
Basi huwa na huzuni sana, na wengine hulia.*

"Here at Lamu when they went wishing to perform the *Gungu*, a dish-shaped gong was sent to the Shah (i.e. the Chief) containing money, much betel, water and sugar.

And the *gungu* is a big dish-shaped gong which is beaten. The gong with its gifts originates from Persia. For a *gungu* occasion there must be a wedding.

And so the Shah calls his friends the poets, who are his subjects, and they come and divide up the gifts in the gong. When they have shared them, a poem is composed. The Shah ties up an animal. The meaning of 'tying up an animal' is tying up an animal by an enigma. They are not told the meaning of the enigma in that poem, the poem is just read out to them.

And they used to go and begin to solve the enigma in their houses, writing at night as many as fifty *gungu* songs.

The Shah gives out his 'tying the animal' song and then unties it. And there appears a man to answer. If he unties the animal (i.e. solves the enigma) the Shah beats a sword, this is to let him know that he has untied the animal. And so he composes a song to praise himself.

And if he does not untie it, the Shah composes a song *kumvika guni*, i.e. to tease him, to make him ashamed that he did not untie the animal and did not know the animal.

And so the man is very sorrowful, and some even cry."

According to this text, the *gungu* songs were originally enigma verses, or else verses meant to solve a central enigma verse composed by the

¹ In Volume VII of the Taylor manuscripts, collected by the Rev. W. E. Taylor at Mombasa in the first

decade of the present century, and now in the Library of the SOAS.

chief. The direct reference to Persia indicates that the whole procedure is imported from that country, though no exactly parallel custom can be traced.

Steere has recorded two so-called *gungu* songs,¹ and has given them the title of *Gungu la Kufunda* and *Gungu la Kukwaa*. These terms are translated respectively as "The Pounding Figure" and "The Hesitation Dance", implying that the word *Gungu* has special reference to a form of dance. These poems are not enigma verses. The fact is that no verses clearly recognizable as enigma verses appear to have survived. The difficulty of interpreting the more obscure verses, e.g. the 90 poems in Ms. No. 47708 (Library of SOAS), cannot be explained by supposing that they are enigma verses yet to be deciphered, but lies in the multiplicity of obsolete forms and, for the present-day reader, obscure local and topical allusions.

4. METRICAL COMPOSITIONS

The classification of Swahili metrical compositions has to be made with primary reference to the syllabic measure in a line, the division of the line into hemistichs (Sw. *vipande*, Ar. *misra*), the number of lines in a verse, and the incidence of rhyme. The basis of each form is the *baiti* or verse, composed of two or more *vipande* and containing neither more nor less than a set number of syllabic quantities (Sw. *mizani* or *herufi*).

There are no Swahili names for the different prosodic forms, so that any attempt to classify them by Swahili names, as Hichens has tried to do, is not justified. He distinguishes² between *mashairi* and *nyimbo*, i.e. poems and songs, maintaining that the latter are popular songs as distinct from *mashairi*, the more cultured poetic composition. This distinction of content is sound enough, but its application to prosodic form is not according to any established practice by Swahili poets. They term all verse *mashairi*, including *nyimbo* written for public performance. The

difference of prosodic form has to be noted, but except in the case of the *takhmis*, a name and a prosodic form borrowed from Arabian poetry, no satisfactory classification by name of types of Swahili verse can be effected.

Conversely, the term *uimbo*, pl. *nyimbo* (song[s]), is never applied to the earlier verse showing definite Arabian influence, though it is likely that such earlier work was meant to be sung. Swahili poems are still sung to tunes of which the names correspond to the oriental *maqamat*, patterns of melody based, with a certain freedom, on one or other of the modal scales and characterized by stereotype turns, by mood and by pitch. The following ten *maqamat* are known on the Swahili coast in the present day: *Rasit*, *Jirka*, *Rasidi*, *Bayat*, *Sika*, *Hijaz*, *Nawandi*, *Hijaz Kar*, *Duka* and *Swaba*.

All these, except the last, have been identified with the corresponding oriental scale. The tendency to-day is for the Arab tune to be played without words on musical instruments, e.g. the gramophone record Gallotone GB. 1245 T. "*Sika* for small orchestra", and Gallotone GB. 1239 T. "*Nahawand* (Nawandi) Violin solo". No doubt the modern popularity of these Arabian tunes is partly due to modern Egyptian influence, but it is generally held that poems with Arabian influence, especially the *tendi* or epics, have always been sung to Arabian tunes. There is no manuscript evidence to support this, though there are many passages to remind the reader that the poems are meant to be sung.

5. LONG-MEASURE VERSE

Long-measure is the characteristic metrical mould of some of the oldest known forms of Swahili verse. The long-measure verse consists of a single line or strophe divided medially by a *kituo* (pl. *vi-*) or rest (*caesura*), which severs the strophe into two equal hemistichs.

The earliest extant Swahili manuscript poem is an example of long-measure. This was written in A.D. 1749 by Sayyid Aidarus b. Athman al-Sheikh Ali and based upon the hamzated poem in

¹ Steere, E.: *Swahili Tales*, London, 1928, pp. 471-481.

² Hichens, Notes in manuscript in Library of SOAS.

Arabic, *Umm al-Qura* (Mother of Cities) by the Arabian poet al-Busiriy.¹ The interlinear version in Swahili, which is not just an exact translation of the Arabic, is a *mimmiya* poem, i.e. it rhymes in *minu*.² Each Swahili verse is divided into two hemistichs of 15 *mizani* (syllabic qualities) each. Following Perso-Arabian rule, the two hemistichs of the first verse rhyme together, but the hemistichs of the succeeding verses do not rhyme together. The *ajuzi* (second hemistich) carries the terminal rhyme of every verse in the composition. The Swahili poem is exceedingly difficult to interpret, but an edition is in preparation at the present time. The following transliteration of four verses illustrates the text:

v. 1: *Nanze kwa jinale bismillahi lenye athama/
na ar-rahimani na muwawazi na ar-rahima.*

"I set first the name of Allah, and His exalted name,
The Merciful, the All-Wise, the Compassionate,
I acclaim."

After eight conventional verses of introduction the poem continues as follows:

v. 9: *Hali wakwelaye kukwelako mitume yonte/
uwingu usio kulotewa ni moja sama*

v. 10: *Kawafani nawe rifaani pahajizile/ nura na
rufaa kati kwenu kulu athima*

v. 11: *Walimithilile sifa zako kuliko wantu/ ja
maa yaliyo kumathili ndani nujuma.*

"How do they ascend to where all prophets ascend? / O heaven, than which no heaven is higher.

They are not equal to Thee in thine exaltation/
Thy light and brightness comes between you and them.

They have reflected Thy praiseful virtues before men / Like as the stars are reflected in the water-pool."

In the Takhmis of Sayyid Abdallah (c. A.D. 1720-1820)³ the final strophe of each verse is

¹ The Swahili Ms. is in the Library of the SOAS.

² Hichens writes of this poem as though the Swahili poem is hamzated and not, of course, only the Arabic original.

³ Meinhof, C.: "Das Lied des Liongo", *Z. für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*, bd. xv., pp. 261-265, Hamburg, 1924-25.

written as a single line and is in the same form of 15-*mizani* long-measure. When abstracted, the strophes can be set out as a separate poem, referred to by Hichens as the "Dungeon Song", but there is no certainty that these lines were in fact an earlier work forming the basis of a quintaine reduction by Sayyid Abdallah. It is sufficient here to note the identity of form with the Swahili verses of Sayyid Aidarus.

The most popular form of long-measure of this type is that with a syllabic measure of 10-*mizani*. Among the poems in this measure may be mentioned *Utumbuizi wa Mananazi* (Serenade to my Gentle Lady),⁴ *Sifa za Mnazi* (Praises of the Coconut Palm), *Shairi la Kuowa* (The Marriage Song), the serenade beginning *Ewe mwana nyamaa silie ukalize wako walimbezi* (O lady, be thou calm and cry not, but list to thy suitors patiently),⁵ *Shairi la Mjemje* (Song to the Sweet-lote Tree),⁶ *Utumbuizi wa Mwana Hejazi* (Serenade to the Hejazian Maid).⁷

Long-measure linked verses

Besides the long-measure one-rhymed poems noted, which can be said to be related to the Arabian *qasida* in form, there are some early compositions in which the verses become linked together contextually in pairs, thus assuming the form of a couplet-verse with two rhyming lines. The correspondence with the Perso-Arabian *mathnawi* or doubly-rhymed couplet may be noted, though it cannot definitely be established. An interesting example of this type of verse is the "Wine Song", the only song on palm-wine known to exist in early Swahili literature.⁸ There is no exact evidence as to the date of composition, but a good guess might be the late 18th or early 19th century. This poem, like others in the present article, has not previously been printed.

*Ewe mteshi wa uchi / wa mbata ulio tungu,
Nitokea wa kikasikini / tesheweo ni ngema wangu.*

⁴ Steere: *Swahili Tales*, pp. 471-478.

⁵ Harries, L.: *Africa*, Vol. XXII, No. 2, for these three poems.

⁶ In the Hichens Collection (SOAS).

⁷ In the Taylor Papers, Vol. III (SOAS).

⁸ Hichens Collection, script by the copyist, Rashidi Abdallah.

*Nitekea wa kitupani / uyayongao kwa zungu,
 Nitekea ulio nyunguni / ulopikwa kwa kunyinywa
 nyungu.
 Hishirabu nikema kuwewa / nilitake embe-kungu
 langu,
 Embe-kungu la mani ya tuma / mpiniwe mba
 tungutungu.
 Embe-kungu kangika changoni / pangikwapo siwa
 na mavungu,
 Pangikwapo magoma ya ezi / na mawano-mawano
 ya bangu.*

"Ho! thou tapster of soured wine from the
 sheath of the withered palm,
 Draw for me wine in the pipkin-jar that was
 tapped by mine own winester.
 Draw for me wine in the little flask that makes a
 man stagger and sway,
 Draw for me wine in the wine-jar, hot-mulled
 and dregged of its lees.
 When I am well-wined I stand, demanding my
 keen-edged sword,
 My keen-edged sword with its guard-leaves of
 steel and its hilt of *mtupa*-wood.
 My keen-edged sword that hangs from the peg
 where the war-horn and trumpets hang,
 Where are slung the state-drums and the rack-
 edged spears of battle."

Long-measure triplet verse.

This form is uncommon with the first hemistich (*sadri*) unrhymed, but in later verse with rhymed *sadri* it is often employed. The following is an example with unrhymed *sadri*¹:

*Howe wapigaje howe / nyama usimjafuma,
 Howe akali mwituni / na maguuye mazima,
 Howe, nda mwenye kufuma / wewe una howe gani.*

"Howe! How dost thou cry Howe when thou
 hast not yet pierced a beast!
 Howe! while it is yet in the forest and its legs
 are whole!
 Howe! is the bowman's cry! Thou - what Howe
 can'st thou claim!"

¹ From the Taylor Papers, Vol. VI.

² Steere, *op. cit.*, pp. 478-481; also in Swahili-

Long-measure "echo" verse

A device known to Persian poets as *mukarrar*, i.e. the repetition or "echo" of a word or part of a word after the first hemistich, was adopted by Swahili poets in quatrain verses. The following example is the only one observed in a poem of long-measure with *sadri* unrhymed, and is the so-called *Gungu la kukwaa* recorded by Steere²:

*Mama nipeeke haoe / haoe / urembo na shani
 Ungama,
 Haoe mnawara mpambe / mpambe / yuzainiweo
 heshima.
 Na wenye kupambwa pambato / pambato / wavete
 vitindo na kama,
 Wavete saufu ziyemba / ziyemba / na mikiyi mbee
 na nyuma.*

"Mother, I prithee take me to see, that I may
 see, the festival-dancing at Ungama,
 To see the fair damsel adorned, adorned in
 seductive robes of grace.
 And the fine ladies bejewelled, bejewelled in
 necklets of diamonds glancing,
 With amulets golden on turbans, on turbans,
 long tresses their beauty enhancing."

Long-measure couplets with vituo rhymes

In the above forms of long-measure the verses are severed medially by *vituo* or rests at the end of the *sadri*, but the *kituo* is unrhymed. Examples occur of verse in which an internal rhyme upon the *kituo* is designed to respond to the terminal rhyme (Sw. *kina*, pl. *vi*-) of the *baiti*. The single strophe is thus a rhymed couplet. By gracing the *vituo* of the long-measure couplet with a rhyme responding to that already gracing the linked strophes, the couplet was broken into what to the ear is a four-rhymed verse or quatrain. The *vituo* rhymes then throw into emphasis as new secondary *vituo* what were slight medial pauses in each hemistich, e.g.³

*Mama poseleza mke mwenye cheo na nasabu /
 kupe nguo na kashani za hariri na kasabu.
 Kupe za ngandu mbaliya na pete za kiarabu /
 kupe zitindo zanao na mivazi ya dhahabu.*

Arabic script in the Taylor Papers, No. 47754 (SOAS).

³ The Taylor Papers, *idem*.

"Wed me to a maiden, mother, noble-born of lineage old,
 From thy treasure-chest, silk fabrics, golden broideries unfold.
 Give her rings of Arab silver, gems in settings golden-scrolled,
 Give her fringelets pearly-threaded and rare jewels of fine gold."

This poem is really a couplet of two long-measure verses, but the rhymed *vituo* throw into emphasis secondary *vituo* after the words *mke*, *kashani*, *mbaliya* and *zanao*. By dividing each hemistich into two measures these secondary *vituo* bestow upon it the verisimilitude of a self-standing line. The couplet thus appears to be a quatrain.

By the rules of Perso-Arabian prosody it was held that the terminal rhymes of all verses in a poem, however long the composition might be, must rhyme together. Therefore in the false quatrain, the terminal rhymes of the linked verses must rhyme not only in pairs, as couplets, but throughout all the couplets. Furthermore, where the primary hemistichs of the couplets bore *vituo* rhymes, those also must respond to the terminal rhymes. In other words, all "four lines" of the false quatrain must rhyme together, and that being so, all "lines" of a poem must carry the same rhyme. Once the poet had committed himself to a rhyme in his first "line", he was bound by it throughout his poem. It is not surprising, perhaps, that few poems of this type have survived in Swahili, even if many were composed. A few poems exist in which the *vituo* are rhymed without disturbing the terminal rhymes of the verse. Here is an example, of religious verse, from Sheikh Mbarak's Mss in the Library of SOAS:

Yallah mwenyi ezi / mola wa kadimu.
Mjayo mjazi / zipungue hamu.
Sina usingizi / wala tabasamu,
Kwa nyingi simanzi / pamoya na ghamu.
Niondolea muwawazi / nitakao jamii yatumu,
Yote siri ni wewe mjuzi / ulotakamali nirehemu.

"Allah, I confess me, Eternal Lord, I pray.
 Thy poor servant, bless me and take my grief away.

Ne'er does sleep caress me, nor laughter cheer my day,
 Sorrow doth oppress me, and grief with me doth stay.
 Compassionate Lord, redress me, all my needs,
 Lord, thou can'st allay,
 Thou knowest all things, Lord, O bless me and grant me thy mercy, I pray."

This rhyming sequence is convenient for short poems and is very popular in more recent verses of three lines each, but for longer works it merely doubles the rhyming burden. Even the Swahili language, so prolific in rhymes, cannot without straining the poet's ingenuity, supply throughout a long composition the multiplicity of rhymes called for by this pattern. The different forms of the quatrain provide an escape from such a rigid rhyme-pattern.

6. THE QUATRAIN

Whether or not the quatrain was developed from the long-measure couplet cannot be established with any certainty. The Swahili poets of the 19th century favoured, almost exclusively, the formal quatrain. It may be said that this is the most popular prosodic form in the hey-day of the Swahili poetic tradition. The collection of 143 poems by Muyaka b. Haji Al-Ghassany (c. A.D. 1776-1840), for instance, are all written in quatrain form with rhymed *vituo*.¹

The regular quatrain has 8 syllabic quantities to the hemistich. The first hemistich (*sadri*) of the last line in each verse rhymes with the second hemistich (*ajuzi*) of the preceding lines. This is an important feature of all "regular" Swahili verse, whether in quatrain form or not. The regular quatrain can be typified by the first two verses of an early work referred to as *Ukutu wa Arafaji* (The Frond of Pandanus)²:

Ukutu wa arafaji / kwa maua ya huzama,
Iwapo barafusaji / hainuki vumba jema.
Asiliye ni wenyeji / kulitea weni-dama,
Ndipo dahari kuwama / leo hadi na mwanya.

¹ *Diwani ya Muyaka bin Haji Al-Ghassany*, edited by W. Hichens ("Bantu Treasury Series", Witwatersrand University Press, 1940).

² In Sheikh Mbarak's Mss. (SOAS).

*Dahari huitauzi / ulimwengu huenda pepe,
Weupe hwinwa ja kuzi / wiu huzia weupe,
Nia kumbukapo mwazi / si usindizi si lepe,
Usiku hupea kope / sapati mato kufinya.*

"O pandanus-frond, sweet-scented, thou wert
fairest 'midst the flowers,
Till the violet, royal-tinted, reft from thee thy
fragrant hours.

Thus, when nation ill-contented, homage pays
to stranger powers,
In that hour her valour cowers, blessed nor by
escape nor honour.

Through this age, this age ill-chosen, life as
chaff is strewn away,
O'er our light, the darkness fallen, cometh
night to end our day.

When upon our fate dost reason, sleep nor rest
thy fears allay,

Through the long dark night dost stay, wide-
eyed in thy vain endeavour."

While not departing from this accepted form of the quatrain, Swahili poets have experimented with many variations and adornments of it. The chief of these have been the addition of refrains or choruses, the inclusion of proverbs, invocations and topical "saws", the exposition of dialogue and such fanciful devices as the repetition or reversal of lines. Some of the latter appear to have been patterned upon Perso-Arabian models. Space does not permit us to deal here with the variations on the quatrain.

7. POEMS WITH LINKED VERSES

Poems in which successive verses are linked together by the repetition in each successive verse of a terminal measure of the preceding verse were popular in the latter half of the 19th century. The device was adopted earlier by Swahili poets and bears out the fancy that verses are like strings of pearls in a necklet, graced with clusters of larger pearls, the rhymes, at intervals.¹

¹ This Arabian device is often mentioned in the introduction to Swahili poems, e.g.

*Makusudi yangu ya kudhamiri /
nda kutunga koja kilidawiri.*

*Mwazi ya duri ikinawiri /
mikinda ya lulu nyuma nitiye.*

"For, 'tis my purpose and my heart's design,

The linking is of two types, the simple *mashairi ya nyoka*, (lit. snake verses), "continued" verses, and the reverse, *mashairi ya mapinde*, "turned line" verses.

The most popular form of "continued" verses is linking by repetition of the final *sadri*, and this is usually combined with the grace of a refrain in the final *ajuzi*, e.g.²

*Kusumbuani si kwema / ewe mzuri tausi,
Mwenye cheo cha heshima / ndoo hima kwa upesi,
Tuambiane kalima / zitue zetu nafusi,
Wajua sina kiasi / jinsi nikupendawo.*

*Wajua sina kiasi / hali yangu waijuwa,
Nakupenda we khalisi / unishize moyo ngowa,
Hiwa nina wasiwasi / ni wewe wa kunituwa,
Nda nini kunisumbua / jinsi nikupendawo.*

"To annoy you is not good, O you lovely
peacock!

O, most nobly ranked, come quickly,

Let us speak to one another and so comfort
ourselves,

You know that I have no limit in my love for
you.

You know that I have no limit, you know my
state,

I love you truly, so solace, my passion.

While I am so disquieted, 'tis you who can
pacify me.

Why do you leave me thus distressed, increasing
my sorrow?"

In "turned line" verses, usually graced by a refrain, the final *sadri* of each verse is carried over to form the initial *sadri* of the succeeding verse, with the difference that the *sadri* is reversed or turned over, e.g.³

*Simba ndume na wambuji / sikizani tatongowa,
Niketete vitongoji / na safari za mashuwa,
Leo nakumbuka mbiji / ya kutweka na kutuwa,
Ai pato na mpeva / litakapo kukutana.*

a rosary's pure circlet to entwine.

That wisdom's pearl adorning it may shine,
and, to its end, thought's cluster'd pearls enchain."
(*Al-Inkishafi*, v. 7).

² In Hichens' Mss. (SOAS).

³ By Muyaka b. Haji, see *op. cit.* in "Bantu Treasury Series", p. 55.

*Ai mpewa na pato / lipalo mtu kukuwa,
Angawa mwana mtoto / wa kutishika kachewa.
Akiwa na upasito / wa kutamani ukiwa,
Ai ndwele na afuwa / itakapo kukutana
Ai afuwa na ndwele, etc.*

"Lionhearts and ladies gentle, list, while I may lay declare,

I have dwelled in many a hamlet, many a good ship bore me there,

But to-day, alone, I think me of one barque, in foul or fair.

Ah! the blessing and the blessed, when, perchance the twain do meet!

Ah! the blessed and the blessing! What doth fill man's soul with power?

Though he be but puling infant frightened by the dawn's hour,

If he but acquire life's riches, then he wishes to be poor.

Ah! the sickness and the healing, when, perchance the twain do meet!

Ah! the healing and the sickness, etc."

The best known exponent of the linked-verse style was Muhammad bin Abubakar (c. A.D. 1790-1857), and other linked verses were written by the poets Su 'ud bin Said (c. A.D. 1800-78), Muhammad bin Ahamed (c. 1870) and Khalfan bin Abdallan al-Mazrui (c. 1870).

8. POEMS WITH REPEATED SEGMENTS

Poems in which one or more lines, or the whole or a part of a word are repeated *within* each verse are termed *mashairi ya takiriri*. The device takes several forms which may be regarded as a kind of poetic acrobatics indulged in by the poet to show his skill in designing verse. As with linked verses a hemistich may be repeated either simply or reversed. There are six general types of verse of this kind, but space forbids us to illustrate each type. One type may be shown, for it is similar to the Persian pattern known as *raddu'l'ajuz 'ala*

's-sadr.¹ In this pattern the first *sadri* is repeated in reverse as the fourth *ajuzi*, and the third *ajuzi* is repeated, simply, as the fourth *sadri*, e.g.²

*Kalizani watapamba / mukilingana mishindo,
Na nziu yungile mwamba / irurume kama nundo,
Nina yambo tawafumba / na pasiwe mwenye kondo,
Na pasiwe mwenye kondo / watapamba kalizani.*

"Ye gay-robed maids, strike up your song, and to our music join your cries,

And beat the silken-corded gong reverberating to the skies.

Secrets I'll tell to ye in song, such things as no one may despise,

Such things as no one may despise. Strike up your song, ye gay-robed maids."

9. REGULAR VERSE

The word "regular" is used here to mean verse in which the distinctive feature is that the last *sadri* must rhyme with the previous *ajuzi*.

(i) *Regular three-line verse*

This may be compared with long-measure triplet verse and to verse in which the *sadri* and the *ajuzi* each has its own rhyme throughout the poem. Poems of this type were peculiar to the poets of Manda Island, and are rare. They owe their form to the multiple-poem called by the Persians *musammāt*, and by the Arabs *muwashshah*.³ Here is an example:⁴

*Nali na wajawa kenda / wali taa watiile,
Katika siku chenenda / ghafula nijikuile,
Nambiwa walikimbile / waka wenye taathimu.*

*Walikimbile kwa wote / waja wema msharafu,
Moyo ndani mtotote / kilia kita asafu,
Wapi waja maarufu / wakele ja wana amu.*

"I had ten slaves, ten maids so fair, who would my slightest whim obey,
One day I stroll to take the air when, suddenly, to my dismay,

¹ See Browne, Edward G.: *A Literary History of Persia*, London, 1906, p. 60.

² In manuscripts of Sheikh Mbarak (SOAS).

³ Browne, *op. cit.* p. 41.

⁴ In the Hichens Mss. (SOAS).

I'm told, 'Thy slaves have run away, Thy pretty maids are fled from you.'

And all of them had fled away, my pretty maids so debonair.

My heart stood still and, in dismay, aloud I cried in my despair,

'Where are my lovely slaves, O where, who dwelled like ladies of Lamu?'

(ii) *Regular six-line verse*

This is a rare form. The following example is from the Hamilton Mss. (SOAS):

*Niliketi siku moyo / kweleza katika muji,
Bwene yakanijiliya / mashairi ya kimiji
Yakiya yakinambiya / na amali bwana haji
Afuwate walikiya / shariati menihuji,
Mke akivuliya / naye ali maubiji,
Asi nguo asi uji / bali akajitamali.*

'One day I set me down to give advice in the village way,

I saw the minstrels of the town come to meet me and they say,

'In law's disputes thou hast renown, tell us if Bwana Haji, he.

Doth follow after us as well, hath acted lawfully or nay.

His wife all patiently hath borne much trouble uncomplainingly,

Of lack of clothes, of food, yet she hath held herself apart from blame.'

(iii) *Regular seven-line verse*

In the following example¹ the *sadri* of the first three lines rhyme together, as also, with a different rhyme, do those of the next three lines. This is a rare verse-form.

*Taire mayele wangu / baba nakwambia heko,
Kunitaya kwa matungu / pamoya na sikitiko,
Kufariki ulumwengu / hakutafuta uli²,
Mwenda kuzimu kauya / wala hana matamko,
Visivyokuwa nambiya / kwani mimi sikuwako,
Ewe mwana saudiya / watuonyesha vituko,
Heko baba yangu heko / kuzimu ulirudiye.*

¹ In collection No. 63200 (SOAS).

'Hail, O my father, revered sire! Hail, I salute thee, noble head!

Men told me, to my sorrow dire, and bitter grief, that thou wert dead,

That thou had left this earth, and I sought thee if 'twere truly said.

He makes no sound, the departed spirit who to the tomb is led.

They tell me falsely, things that I myself had not witness-ed.

O Prince of Saud, thou showest things to make us terrorised,

Hail, father mine, well done and hail, for thou art risen from the dead.'

10. VERSES OF FOUR HEMISTICHS

In the quatrain a single verse in the Arabic script is usually disposed in two lines with the customary symbol (usually of triangular shape) to mark the *vituo*. Verse of four hemistichs is written either as a single line (especially if the syllabic measure is a short one) or as two lines. This is an important verse-form, because it is employed for writing *tendi*, romantic epics, and *hadithi*, circumstantial accounts of real or legendary historical episodes. It has also been used for writing homiletic and didactic monologues. In each verse the first three hemistichs rhyme together, and the fourth carries a rhyme which is repeated as the terminal rhyme of every verse in the poem.

The most popular measure of syllables to the hemistich is 8-*mizani*, and most of the long *tendi* are written in it. The earliest known work in this measure is the *Utendi wa Herkali*² (also called *Tambuka*), composed in the first half of the 18th century at the command of the Sultan of Pate.

Among other well-known *tendi* composed in this measure are those of Amuri, Ayubu, Isipani, Shufaka, Sufiyani, Ayesha, Isa, Al-Akida, Mwana Kuponu, Mkonumbi, Nasra wa-Arabu, and the *hadithi* of Ngamia na Paa, Mikidadi na Mayasa, Hasina, Barasisi, Sheikh Ali, Liyongo, and others.

Next to the 8-*mizani* verse 11-*mizani* have the

² Meinhof, C.: "Chuo cha Herkal - Das Buch von Herkal", *z. für Kolonial-Sprechen*, Jahrg. 11, 8, p. 1 ff.

greatest popularity, and this was a favourite measure as a medium for poetic homilies, prayers and exhortations of a religious nature. The acrostic poem, *Ya Dura Mandhuma*¹ (Stringed Pearls), by Sayyid 'Umar bin Amin, Kadhi of Siu, c. A.D. 1856, was written in this measure, also the *Mukhtasar* (Abridgment) by Sayyid Mansab bin Abdurrahman on the *Maulid ya Barzanji*.² Unlike the popular *tendi* or *hadithi* in shorter measure, these and similar works in this measure are designedly cast in a style with heavier Arabic content. Hichens expressed the opinion³ that the verse-form with four rhyming hemistichs was adopted from the form of verse "known to the Arabs" as *tasmit*, and from this he deduces the early existence of Swahili poems of this type. But this verse-form was not used by the Arabian poets of the classical period. Although Freytag⁴ gives an early date for the appearance of the *tasmit*, it is generally considered that examples of poetry in the *tasmit*-form reputed to belong to the early classical period are not genuine. In any case, since no direct Swahili sources go back farther than the 18th century, it is not possible to speculate on the period when this form was first adopted by Swahili poets.

In verse of this type with 15-*mizani*, the additional *vituo* establish additional hemistichs, and these are rhymed. This is not a very common form, though some well-known poems adopt it, e.g. Sheikh Muhiy-ed-Din's *Utendi wa Miraji*.⁵ In the following example, from an *utendi* called *Kozi na Ndiwa* (The Hawk and the Dove),⁶ the additional *vituo* in the first three lines are graced with rhyme upon the sixth syllable, leaving nine syllables in the second hemistich. This is an example of a poem in which the *vituo* are purposely placed in a position which is not half-way in the line, as follows:

*Siku moya chaka / kwa sababu yua kukaza,
Musa kainuka / simbo chawe akaimiza,
Kivuli kutaka / kwa wasaa tandu kweneza,
Akisa kuketi amuwene ndiwa mekima.*

"One day, by heat oppressed, while the sun
burned fiercely o'er the strand,
Moses sought shade to rest, setting his staff
upright upon the sand,
And lo! at his behest, branches outspread,
shading the grateful land,
Then, resting 'neath their shade he saw, amidst
them perched, a gentle dove."

II PLACING THE VITUO

The device of introducing *vituo* rhymes at different positions in the line was employed in the 19th century in short poems, usually of three lines to a verse. There are, of course, some poems in which the copyist has obviously placed the *vituo* in the wrong positions, but the following examples illustrate the conscious arrangement of *vituo* rhymes in different positions⁷:

4/6 *mizani*: *Kujipinda / na kujitahidi,
Kuyatenda / yasiyo muradi,
Muchenenda / sisi tumerudi.*

"For display ye are ever straining,
To array your deeds that have no meaning,
Go your way! We are homeward wending."

4/8 *mizani*: *Mashauri / ya mtu usiyashiko,
Taghururi / na mwishoaze akutuke,
Mtu siri / husema na moyo wake.*

"To man's advice list' not, whome'er doth it
import.

In avarice, he'll make of thee an ill report
Of artifice, the wise takes commune with his
heart."

8/5 *mizani*: *Wendi wa siri wafiye / wako mavani,
Na ambao wasiliye / siwaamini.
Sina mwenye kwamba nayo / nambe
ni nyani.*

*Nisikia nikwambiye / mtakalumi,
Na ambao wasaliye / wizi wa
ndimi,*

¹ Harries, L.: *Bulletin of SOAS*, Vol. XV, 1, 1953.

² An edition of this poem based on a photostat copy of a Ms. in the possession of Sheikh Mbarak Ali Hinau is to be printed.

³ In unpublished notes in Library of SOAS.

⁴ Communicated to me by Professor Tritton.

⁵ Copy seen in 1952 in Malindi.

⁶ In Hichens Mss. (SOAS).

⁷ The following three poems are from Sheikh Mbarak's papers.

*Huna mwenye kwamba naye / amba
na mimi.*

"My bosom friends have passed away to sleep
within the grave.

I trust not those who live to-day, each one of
them a knave.

I have no one to talk with, nay! With whom may
I conclave?

Now hearken friend to what I say, O man of
words so free!

If all the men who live to-day, would steal thy
tongue from thee,

And thou hast none to speak with, nay! Well
then, speak thou with me!"

12. VERSES WITHOUT VITUO

Light inconsequential and sentimental songs
have been composed without *vituo* to sever the
hemistich. They occur as three, four or five line
poems. Here are two examples of the four-line
poem without *vituo*¹:

*Tukenda katiti,
Sote tu maiti
Twangoja wakati,
Na saa kungesi.*

"We go our little way,
Till death shall end our day,
We wait our time's delay,
For the last hour to call."

*Sikubali mpenda kawanda
Sinwi sili kwa hamu ya nyonda
Na akili siwi nayo kwanda.
Mambo haya ndiyo nimetunda.*

"That a lover grows fat, I can't agree!
I drink not, I eat not, pining for thee!
As for sense, I'd none, e'en at first, you see!
So these are the things love has gained for me!"

Five-line verse without *vituo* is a rare form
confined to Zanzibar and the adjacent coast, though

five-line verse with *vituo* is common enough all
along the coast, especially for sea-shanties, wed-
ding-songs and lullabies.

13. THE TAKHMIS VERSE-FORM

The *takhmis* verse-form was adopted by Swahili
poets from Arabian poets. In Arabian prosody,
takhmis is the form of poetical composition in
which a poet composes verses of five lines, the
first three of which are his own composition while
the remaining two are lines adopted from the work
of an earlier poet. The first three lines usually
serve as a contemporary frame for the older piece
and as a gloss or exposition of its theme. In
manuscripts, both Arabian and Swahili, the last
two lines are invariably written as one strophe,
medially divided by a rest or *kituo*. In Swahili
takhmisa there is no evidence to show that this
final strophe can be identified with an earlier work
by a different author, though the possibility is not
altogether ruled out.

Reference has already been made in this article
to the *takhmis* of Sayyid Abdallah on the "Dungeon
Song" of Liyongo. An example of *takhmis* with
vituo rhymes is the *Duwa ya Kuombea Mvuwa*
(Prayer of Intercession for Rain) by Sheikh Mu-
hiyed-din b. Sheikh b. Kahtan.² Some poets have
adopted the Arabian device of composing verses
in such a manner that one or more of the lines in
each verse begins with a sequent letter of the
Arabic alphabet. The poet 'Umar b. Amin b.
'Umar b. Amin b. Nadhir al-Ahdal was particu-
larly fond of this practice, e.g. in his poem, *Waji-
waji*, he begins the fourth line of each verse
with a sequent letter.³

Among other well-known *takhmisa* is that of
Muhammad b. Andul-Aziz al-Warraki on a poem in
praise of the Prophet by Muhammad b. Abubakar
al-Witri,⁴ and this *takhmis* is called *Madini* by the
Swahili people. Another is the *takhmis* of Abd-ul-
Baki al-Faruki, based upon the *Hamziya* of Mu-
hammad b. Said al-Busiriy.⁵ An acrostic *takhmis*
XIII, 3, 1950.

⁴ The Swahili version is Ms. No. 53500 in Library
of SOAS.

⁵ From information provided by Sheikh Mbarak.

¹ From Sheikh Mbarak's papers.

² Harries, L.: "A Swahili Takhmis", *African
Studies*, 11, 2, pp. 59-67.

³ Harries, L.: "A Poem from Siu", *Bulletin of SOAS*,

is by Sheikh Abdallah b. Sogoro in his prayer *Ai Rabbi, nipo mlangoni*¹ (O Lord, I wait at thy portal), in which he begins the first line of each verse with the sequent letter and prefaces his poem with five verses of divine eulogy, commencing the

alphabetical arrangement in the seventh verse. A more detailed study of these *takhmisa* is in progress. Meanwhile we conclude this article on the main cultural verse-forms of the earlier Swahili poetry.

BOOK REVIEW

Ku hluvuka ku huma e vuhlongeni. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, translated by S. J. BALOYI. Swiss Mission in South Africa, Johannesburg. 1953. 138 pp. 4s. 6d.

It is always with a sense of expectation that one starts reading a new Tsonga book in view of the poverty of the existing Tsonga literature. The reader's expectations are not disappointed by this abridged translation of Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery*.

Although, in many places, lengthy passages from the original have been cut out, the continuity of the story is retained, and the main episodes of Washington's life are fully dealt with. It is interesting to note that several of the passages which have been left out are those which would have been difficult to render in Tsonga because of their abstract sociological or philosophical nature.

Baloyi's style is clear and matter-of-fact, and suits very well the biographical and historical nature of the book. In fact, the very atmosphere found in Washington's text has been very successfully recreated in *Ku hluvuka ku huma e vuhlongeni*. This, it seems, is attributable to Baloyi's style and also to the fact that he closely follows the original. However, he never translates literally from the English version, so that his expression is free from obscure sentences and from unidiomatic forms.

Although most of the book is written in a simple, matter-of-fact style which reveals little of the translator's own literary personality, a few passages are striking by their vividness. This

vividness of imagery and unsuspected power of description are due to the use of series of words with cleverly graduated shades of meaning, and, here and there, to the use of well-chosen interjections and ideophones. In such passages Baloyi's richness of vocabulary is felt to its fullest extent. After reading them, the reader regrets that these lively paragraphs are not more numerous, even if they break away from Washington's own style. Such pages indicate that freer adaptation from foreign literary works would profitably enrich Tsonga literature.

Baloyi has used a great number of words borrowed from English to express concepts for which there exist no equivalent terms in Tsonga. To express abstract concepts he has made extensive use of circumlocutions, which, in general, are quite successful.

It is a great pity that *Ku hluvuka ku huma e vuhlongeni*, which is a most valuable contribution to so young a literature as that of Tsonga, should be marred by a fairly considerable number of typographical and orthographical errors. More unfortunate even is the fact that Baloyi has been inconsistent in many of the grammatical forms he uses. Although no study has been made yet, which would determine which Tsonga forms should be accepted as standard, Baloyi should have chosen one form and used it to the exclusion of other dialectal variants throughout his work.

This book, despite some defects, is a valuable addition to Tsonga literature, and, one hopes, it will be an encouragement and a model for those who would devote some of their literary ability to translation and adaptation of foreign literary works into Tsonga.

P-D. COLE-BEUCHAT.

¹ Mentioned by Hichens in his papers, but not seen by me.

THE MASAI AGE-GROUP SYSTEM AS A GUIDE TO TRIBAL CHRONOLOGY

H. A. FOSBROOKE *

PART I: THE MASAI SYSTEM

SYNOPSIS

The Masai provide a classic example of the Nilo-hamitic linear age-group system. Many age set names have been recorded, particularly by Hollis at the turn of the century: the earliest, those of Krapf, date back a further 50 years. The dating of such sets has, however, presented considerable difficulty. The situation is confused by the fact that the Kwavi, a branch of the Masai, practiced a parallel system, similar in ceremonial and political significance but with different group names; the differing origins of such names was not always appreciated and this led to the impression that the system had greater depth than in fact existed.

The present analysis reveals the extreme regularity of the cycle over the last hundred years, beyond which date it is unprofitable to delve; it also emphasizes the difference between the physiological generation and the generation-set. With the Masai it is not essential, as it is with some other tribes, that a man's son should join the set next or next-but-one below him. Though it is alternate generation-sets which enjoy reciprocal privileges and duties, only about half the members of a set have been sired by the generation-set next-but-one above it.

The Masai possess a dominant, prestige bearing culture as a result of which numerous tribes with whom they came in contact adopted, with varying degrees of change, the Masai age-group system. An analysis of the system amongst the Taveta, the Chagga and the Gogo enables events in their tribal history to be dated with greater certainty than heretofore.

Introduction

Recently the Government of Tanganyika assigned to me the task of attempting to date the widespread encroachment of tsetse fly in Northern Tanganyika by reference to Masai history. The Masai are comparative newcomers to the area, but the tsetse are even more recent intruders, so it was hoped that a study of the inter-relation between these two incompatible invaders might reveal the direction and speed of this serious infestation.

The results of my enquiry have been reported to Government and it is hoped they will be published in due course. But before attempting to date past events by reference to the Masai age-

group system, I found it necessary to reassess existing conclusions concerning the dates assigned by previous writers to specific age-groups; my enquiries and conclusions in this matter are embodied in the present paper.

We are fortunate with the Masai in having a tribe with an age-group system of regular periodicity, so that it should be possible to get a reasonably accurate dating of an event if it were only known who were the warriors at the time of its occurrence. As the period from one age-group to the next is approximately fifteen years, there is considerable latitude in such dating; refinements can be made if informants can recall what particular stage of development the age-set concerned had

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reached, e.g. had they performed their promotion ceremony or were they just newly initiated, or were they near retirement? These refinements, of course, can only be applied to more recent events as such details are not remembered in respect of the long past ages.

For those unacquainted with the Masai system, a few brief notes and definitions are given. On reaching the age of 14-17, all Masai boys are circumcised, and so become junior warriors; after a variable period, usually about eight years, a ceremony is performed, called *unoto*, whereby they attain the status of senior warriors. Meanwhile a new group of junior warriors is usually in the process of initiation, known as the left-hand circumcision – their precursors being termed the right-hand. These right-hand warriors retain their status as senior warriors for a considerable period whilst the left-hand catches up on them, performing their *unoto* and likewise becoming senior. The combined group of seniors then go through the *ngesher* ceremony, which steps them up from warriorhood to junior elderhood.

Definitions

There has been much discussion on the subject of an appropriate terminology which may adequately distinguish the biological progress of man through boyhood, youth and manhood to inevitable old age, from the social arrangement whereby a number of people of approximately the same age pass together in formalized succession from status to status.

Following Jeffreys (1950) – to whom I am indebted for drawing my attention to further references on the subject – I propose to use the term *age-group* as a general term for a formalized social group of age-mates. In the case of the Masai, however, further definition is necessary, since the initial group of those of a particular geographical area circumcised during one year, combines later with similar groups, originally separated both by space and time, to form larger units, which eventually combine to form a named group

embracing all males in a 15 year span throughout the tribe. The Masai distinguish these three phases by distinct terms – as well as by a proper name for each group – which I propose to translate as follows:

E-murata: a *sub-set*,¹ that group of youths circumcised in one area in one year. The standard pattern is four successive circumcisions followed by three years without circumcision; then a further three circumcisions and four or more years when no circumcisions occur.

Ol-poror: an *age-set*, means that group of youths circumcised in successive years who are given a common name and who perform in common the ceremony called *e-unoto*, as promotion from junior to senior warriorhood; each sub-tribe or group of sub-tribes performs this ceremony independently.

Ol-aje, a *generation-set*, first called so by Hollis (1905),² is formed when two age-sets combine under a common name in the ceremony called *ngesher*, which marks the step between warriorhood and junior elderhood; only one such ceremony is performed for the whole tribe for each generation.

The term *age-grade* is reserved to describe the particular status which a group has reached at any specified period; senior warriorhood, junior elderhood, etc. Thus a man must change his grade from time to time, but his group remains constant, though it may amalgamate with other groups. These definitions closely follow Peristiany (1951), who shows that the Pokot (or Suk) of Kenya have similar subsets which, as they become more senior, combine to form larger and larger units.

The above terminology also follows closely that adopted by Prinz (1953) although it was drafted before his work was published.

Previous attempts at dating

Reliance can be placed on dating through age-groups only if two conditions are fulfilled; firstly if an accurate table of age-sets and generations can be compiled, and secondly if one is assured that no marked change in the period of warriorhood of each group has occurred.

¹ The term *set* is criticized by Richards (1929) and Jeffreys (1950), but seems less open to objection when limited to the particular meaning here defined.

² Hollis used the term *generation*; I have added *set*,

at the suggestion of M. Dyson-Hudson, – to whom I am indebted for the idea – to distinguish between this feature of the age-group structure and the physiological generations which are considered later in the discussion.

TABLE I

Masai Age-groups as recorded by Hollis, pp. 262-263

(The numbers in brackets have been inserted for ease of reference)

<i>Right-hand Circumcision</i>	<i>Left-hand circumcision</i>	<i>Approximate date</i>	
(1) Il-Kinyoyo		1791	} one generation
	(2) Il-Tapari	1799	
(3) Il-Kigiriyo		1806	} one generation
	(4) Il-Kisalie (the people of the plain)	1814	
(5) Il-Kupai (the white swords)		1821	} one generation
	(6) Il-Kimirisho (those who drive away)	1829	
(7) Il-Kijaru (those who do not give back)		1836	} one generation
	(8) Il-Kieku (the long-bladed spears)	1844	
(9) Il-Churunye (those who fight openly or by day) or Il-Kidotu (the pullers up)		1851	} one generation
	(10) Il-Twati (the rich ones) or Il-Mirishari (those who are not driven away)	1859	
(11) Il-Nyangusi (those who capture for themselves)		1866	} one generation
	(12) Il-Merisho or Laimer (the pursuers)	1874	
(13) Il-Ngarbut (the gluttons) or Il-Kishumu (the raiders)		1881	} one generation
	(14) Il-Kiponi or Il-Chungen (those who increase)	1889	
(15) Il-Kishon (the lives) or 'Seure (the lucky ones) or Il-Kitoip		1896	} ³ one generation
	(16) Il-Meitaroni (those who are not conquered)	March 1904	

The first attempt at dating by this means was made by Hollis in his book *The Masai*, written in 1904. Table I, herewith, is reproduced from pages 262-263 with only the numbers added for ease of reference. One's first reaction is to put considerable reliance on this table in view of the fact that it was compiled half a century ago. In addition, a seal

appears to be set on its accuracy as it seems so surely linked with Krapf's age-group names recorded more than a century ago (vide Hollis's footnote 1).

Hollis's table, however, does not stand up to critical analysis and it is obvious that Hollis was misled by or misinterpreted his informants. In the

¹ When Krapf wrote his *Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikop* in 1854, he mentioned (p. 14) that the men who were able to marry were called Ekieko (Il-Keiku), and that the old men were known as Elkijaro or Elkimirisho. This account entirely agrees with the above table of dates.

² Lenana and Sendeyo (vide note on p. 328) belong to this age. Shortly after it commenced the great cattle plague broke out (1890).

³ In Taveta the corresponding age, 'Seure, was commenced on May 7, 1897, a few months after it had been started in Masailand. Each Taveta age covers a period of about fifteen years, i.e. there is no left-hand circumcision. Vide *The Journal of the African Society*, No. 1, October, 1901.

⁴ The circumcision festivities were commenced in September, 1903.

first place, although the concept of two age-sets forming one generation-set was appreciated, there is no record of the *ngesher* ceremony whereby the two sets are welded into one generation-set and given a common name, though the *unoto* ceremony is described under the heading "The Selection of a Chief". Thus Hollis was led to putting the Nyangusi and Laimer as two age-sets forming one generation-set, whereas it is universally acknowledged by the Masai that they were two separate generation-sets, each with their own right- and left-hand age-sets. Forward from this point, Hollis may be taken as accurate, namely that his age-sets 13 and 14 combined to form one generation-set, the Dalala, whilst his 15 became the generation-set known as Dwati. As far as the Kissongo was concerned, this generation-set had no left-hand age-set corresponding with Hollis's 16. Thus 1881 as the commencement of the Dalala generation-set seems to provide a form of datum line subsequent to which events can be dated with considerable accuracy.

Going backwards from this datum line, however, Hollis soon gets into trouble as he is counting generation-sets as age-sets. This means that he has seven years under-dated in respect of No. 11, 14 years in 10, 21 years in 9, and so on. How then is it that Hollis's table fits in so neatly with Krapf's information? The answer is that Hollis's table in respect of the earlier generation-sets is a mixture of Masai and Kwavi names. This is understandable since Justin Ol-Omenyi, Hollis's main informant, was in fact a Kwavi, who had, nevertheless, considerable experience amongst the Masai as recorded in his recently published "Life" (1954).

The Kwavi, also called Lumbwa, Loigop or Baraguyu, are the less numerous forerunners of the true Masai, who, in adversity took to agriculture and are in consequence called at times "The Agricultural Masai".

It should be recorded that the Kwavi system of age-sets and generation-sets is identical to the Masai, but the practice of their system is quite independent. The Kwavi have their own *laibon* selected from a family corresponding with, but in no way related to, the Masai *engidong*; they perform *unoto* and *ngesher* ceremonies at their own

traditional spots, the former at Magamba to the east of Handeni, and the latter at Kibrashi on the Handeni-Masai border. I have not yet ascertained how far they keep accurately in step with the Masai, but the latter equate each of their own age-groups with a particular Kwavi age-group. Thus in recent years the Masai warrior grade, Meshuke or Kalikal, corresponds with the Kwavi Kidotu, the Masai junior elders, Derito, to the Kwavi Seta, and in the senior ages, Dareto equals Kijaru, Dwati equals Baresho, Dalala equals Kinyeye or Isiabei, Laimer equals Diyoge, Nyangusi equals Seuri, and Kidotu equals Kijaru. This information has been double-checked with Kwavi from Handeni and with those now resident in Kondo. Enquiry in the field revealed that those earlier age-groups on which Hollis relied for his dating through Krapf were, in fact, Kwavi age-groups. Hollis took his information – see Table I, Note 1 – from Krapf's *Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikop*, dated 1854. I have not had access to this source, but quote hereunder from Krapf's other work *Travels and Missionary Labours in East Africa*. As the information contained therein is placed immediately after his description of "Second Journey to Ukambani" – which, from page xxvi, we learn took place in 1851 – we can assume that this is the date when the names he mentioned were in force. He says, page 363 :

"The subdivisions of age are more numerous with the Wakuafi and Masai than among the Wanika and other tribes. The children, Engera, remain with their mothers and old people, who tend the cattle and do the household work ; the youths, Leiok, from fourteen to twenty, devote themselves to the national games and the pursuits of the chase ; the young men, Elmoran, from twenty to twenty-five, who among the Wanika form the association of the Kambe, are the warriors ; those older who are married and are designated Khieko, partly engage in war, partly in hunting, elephants, buffaloes, etc. ; whilst the aged men, who are termed Eekiilsharo or Eekiminsho, remain at home, and with their wisdom and experience enlighten their juniors, who pay them great respect."

There is a confusion here between common nouns and proper names: "Engera", "Leiok" and "Elmorran", meaning children, youths and warriors respectively, would be written in modern orthography (*i*)*n*kerā, (*i*)*l*ayioḱ and (*i*)*l*murran. But Khieko, Eekiilsharo and Eekiminsho are age-group names. The governing words in the above quoted passage from Krapf are "the Kwavi and Masai". To get to Ukambani, Krapf can have only contacted Kwavi and not Masai, hence the assumption that the names he mentions are Kwavi age-groups: this confirms my present-day informants who, out of all Krapf's names, only recognize Kimerisho as Masai, though they can give it no sure place in the chronological list of age-groups. It is significant that on the only occasion when Krapf gives an alternative, it transpires that one name is Kwavi and one Masai. It is also significant that, eliminating the Kwavi names, the Kimerisho occur one back from the Kidotu and two back from the first Dwati age. Kimerisho may be synonymous with Merishari or may represent the age immediately preceding it. In either case, I get confirmation of my dating in Table III. For when Krapf collected his information, the uninitiated were aged 14-20, i.e. the *morān* age-group must have been initiated for some time. Allow them to be half way through their period, the group must then have come into being about 1844. The then junior elders must, therefore, have been initiated about 1831 and the senior elders somewhere around 1818 or 1804. (Only after writing this did I turn up my Kondoa notes, which showed that Kidotu = Kijaro, and Kidotu are dated as commencing 1811 (see Table III).)

Although in my view it is unprofitable to attempt to go back more than ten generation-sets to complete the record I give below my informants' views on the early Hollis names, and also sundry other group names which I heard.

Kinyoyo - Hollis No. 1. Heard of by some informants and mentioned spontaneously by others; a very early group of uncertain place in the chronology.

Tapari - Hollis No. 2. A Kwavi group, correspond-

ing with Masai Dwati; uncertain whether Dwati I or Dwati II.

Kigiriyo - Hollis No. 3. Heard of, but placing uncertain; informants state that this was the time when the Masai first left Kirio and climbed the scarp into the Kenya Highlands area.

Kisale - Hollis No. 4. Heard of, but placing uncertain; it would be false to assume that because there is a mountain called by this name in Tanganyika, the Masai penetrated at a very early date. The meaning of the word, which Hollis gives as "the people of the plain" might equally apply to Oldonyolol Kisale, "the mountain of the plains", which stands out so conspicuously from a sea of plains.

Kupai - Hollis No. 5. Heard of, but placing uncertain.

Kimirisho - Hollis No. 6. Heard of, but placing uncertain; possibly equated with Merishari (see above).

Kiekui - Hollis No. 8. A Kwavi group.

Churunya - Hollis No. 9. A Kwavi group.

Kisaruni - An undated group not mentioned by Hollis.

Deyogi - An undated group not mentioned by Hollis.

Shogai - Possibly an age-set name of the Dwati I generation.

Reverting to Hollis, in view of the confusion between age-sets and generation-sets as mentioned above, and of the insertion of Kwavi names, Hollis's dating is inevitably due for revision, except in respect of events more or less contemporary with his publications. The only other table published is by Fosbrooke in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 26, pages 11 to 12, herein reproduced as Table II, which must next be brought under critical examination. All subsequent enquiry has confirmed the sequence of names, but this table is incomplete as it only gives generation-set and not age-set names. Furthermore, being compiled some fifteen years ago, it is necessary to bring it up-to-date.

A reassessed dating

Table III herein attempts to rectify both these defects, and also in respect of more recent age

TABLE II

Masai Age-groups as dated by Fosbrooke, Tanganyika Notes and Records, No. 26, pp. 11-12

<i>Age</i>	<i>Approx. date of Circumcision</i>	<i>Important Events</i>
Diyogi	1776	Members of this group can be remembered by living elders. Subet belonged to this age.
Kisaruni.	1791	Masai penetrated to Usagara.
Merishari	1806	Conquered Manyara from Adoru.
Kidotu	1821	Took Naberera from Kwavi. Kikoin (the original Waarusha) brought up from Arusha Chini. Capture of Engaruka.
Dwati	1836	Captured Lolbene, Moibo and Kibaya from Kwavi. Drove Datwa from Ngorongoro Highlands. Mbatian belonged to this group.
Nyangusi	1851	One or two members of this group still alive. Took Karatu from Datwa. Death of Subet.
Laimer	1866	Moibo Masai called up by Mbatian for Laikipiak war. Capture of Talamai and Kiteto.
Dalala	1881	Peace made between Masai and Kwavi at Ruvu. Death of Mbatian. Famine, rinderpest and smallpox. Lenana and Sendeyo belonged to this group.
Dwati	1896	Civil war between Lenana and Sendeyo. First contact with European administration. Parrit promoted to this group, though actually Dareto.
Dareto	1911	Death of Lenana. The Great War. Fight between Dwati and Dareto at lol Kisali. Return of Laibon to Tanganyika. Mbeiya belonged to this group.
Kisale }	1926	Death of Parrit (1928).
Merisho }	1935	Death of Sendeyo.
		Death of Mbeiya (1938).

groups to provide further details concerning dates and places of ceremonies. Owing to the lack of written records, it is impossible to attempt accurate dating of such ceremonies in respect of earlier age-sets, so in place of this information, outstanding events are recorded. It is one thing to compile a reasonably accurate sequence of names, but quite another matter to attach dates to such names in respect of the proto-historic period. As suggested above, one can safely take as a datum line the commencement of the Dalala group where Hollis's names agree with my information that these are

in fact the right- and left-hand circumcisions of what subsequently became united as the Dalala generation-set. My information also tallies that rinderpest and smallpox struck the Masai shortly after the left-hand of the Dalala had been initiated. So 1888 seems a safe date for Hollis's 14 and 1881 for Hollis's 13. It is this latter date which I term the datum line.

The present position (1955) is that the Kalikal have been initiated for about twelve years. It has been decided that no left-hand should be initiated into this generation-set so a new generation-set

Seuri (Kishon)	Dwati II	1896	1905(2)	Mukulat	Lenana		
(No Left-hand in Kissongo)		(1904) (3)	(1911)(4)	(Ngong)	(Lenana)	1917(5)	Oldonyo lol Murua Parrit
Kilopion	Darcto	c. 1911	c. 1919(6)	Mukulat	Parrit)		
(No Left-hand in Kissongo)		—	—	—	—	1929(7)	Oldonyo lol Murua Mbeiya
Kisale (Kitatin)	Derito	1926	1931(8)	Mukulat	Mbeiya		
(Kakishani)						1948	Oldonyo lol Murua Letinga
Merisho Lorokidongoi		1933	1948(9)	Monduli	Letinga		
Meshuke (Kalikal)	Generation name not yet given	1942(10)	1949(11)	Mukulat	Balosi	Not yet held	—
(No Left-hand in Kissongo)		1953(12)					

Notes

- ¹ The Right-Hand *Eunoto* was held and the Left-Hand initiation commenced just before the smallpox and rinderpest came in. Lenana and Sendeyo were Dalala. Kiperu is below Kiraragwa in the Moshi District.
- ² Both these ceremonies were held in the same year.
- ³ Left-hand initiation in Kenya commenced 1904 (Hollis).
- ⁴ "The Sighirari, Matapatu, Kapatiei and other divisions had always favoured the locality of the Ngong Hills, and the *Eunoto* ceremony conducted by Lenana in 1911 had only concerned these divisions" (*Admin. History of Mauai*, Sandford).
- ⁵ The year the Great War finished which was, to the Masai, 1917.
- ⁶ Informants say "after the English arrived", but before Parrit moved down to Tanganyika in 1923.
- ⁷ One year after Parrit's death, which occurred in 1928.
- ⁸ The year after Monduli Boma was opened.
- ⁹ 1948 was notable for "the observance of the *Eunoto* ceremony at Mukulat some miles to the North-East of Monduli" (*P. C's Annual Reports 1930*, p. 67).
- ¹⁰ *P. C's Annual Reports 1942*, p. 42 speaks of "circumcision of new age grades now proceeding. . . ."
- ¹¹ "In the Monduli division. . . the *Eunoto* ceremony had been held in 1949" (*P. C's Annual Reports 1953*, p. 87).
- ¹² *Eunoto* ceremonies were held in Loliondo Division, see *P. C's Annual Reports, 1953*, p. 87.

must shortly commence. Let us assume that it will start next year or the year after.¹ This means that from the commencement of the *Dalala* to the end of the *Kalikil*, a period of seventy-five years has elapsed, an average of exactly fifteen years per generation-set.

It would be nice to assume that the previous five generation-sets took precisely the same period, as this would take us back with accurate dating to the beginning of the 19th century. It is obviously unprofitable to attempt to go further back than that; for though generation-set names may be known from the 17th century, there are no events which can be linked with such names with any certainty. An attempt has been made to check how far the above assumption of five generation-sets covering seventy-five years can be relied on by two means: firstly by personal histories obtained from individual informants (Method I) and secondly by checking through lists to discover the age gap between those named in the tax registers and their fathers (Method II).

In the matter of personal histories, it is quite remarkable how seldom the Masai knows the name and generation of his great grandfather; not infrequently he has no knowledge of his own grandfather's name. This is one manifestation of my general finding that the Masai are poor repositories of traditional history. There are two reasons for this: The first arises from the warrior system and consequent late marriage, combined with the pattern of polygamy whereby old men can marry young wives and even when impotent can legally become the *pater* of children. This means that the

gap between father and son may be very considerable. The second factor arises from the custom of Masai spending their period of warriorhood in *manyatta* out of contact with their fathers; in the case where *manyatta* life is not adopted, the period of warriorhood is largely spent in travelling and not in residence in the paternal *boma*. Subsequently, on settling down as an elder, the Masai claims his share of inheritance from his father and goes to live with his age-mates in another *boma*. In consequence, the father-son link is most tenuous and provides a poor channel for the passage of tradition from one generation to the next.

This point is substantiated by comparison with other tribes, where settled conditions combined with more usual marriage systems result in the amassing of a greater body of tradition. The Iraqw, with a steady average of ten generations, and the Luguru going back fifteen or more, are examples. Even when engaged on the present enquiry I was able to test out this theory from casual contacts. One, an Aramanik Dorobo, could remember the names of seven of his forebears; a Mosiro Dorobo could go back four, whilst a Nguu headman, engaged on water development in Masailand, could reel off his lineage to twelve generations back.²

Reverting then to what I term Method I, in 71 cases (as set out in Table IV) Masai were interviewed and asked to give the name and generation of their father, grandfather and as far back as they could remember. I then worked out the average gap, i.e. the number of generation-set names occurring between the informant and his

¹ Initiation into the new age-group commenced in so far as the Arusha are concerned in October-November, 1955, during which months the wandering initiates were a conspicuous feature of the countryside. In spite of the passage of half a century in close contact with town conditions, the modern *osipolio* is identical to the one illustrated by Hollis, Plate XIX. The only concession to modernity is an umbrella, used as a sunshade.

The *endugore* or closure was removed in due form after an *olamal* (deputation) visited the *laibon* at Monduli called Balosi. He is the generally accepted *laibon* of the Kissongo section, though a rival, Letinga, has had a considerable following. This lack of unity amongst the Kissongo probably explains why the Kissongo generation-set now closed had no left-hand age-set.

The future situation will be interesting to watch, as Balosi, the more favoured *laibon*, died towards the

end of 1955. Will this leave Letinga a clear field, or will other candidates be forthcoming? And will the fact that the Arusha have, with Balosi's blessing, started their new age, whereas the Kissongo have not, mean that the two sections will now get out of step? It is remarkable that they have maintained unity for so long.

² I do not wish to over-emphasize the point, as these figures may be fortuitous, but it is certainly remarkable how nicely they fall into place. The settled Bantu agriculturist showed a depth of lineage of 12 generations; the Masai, nomadic pastoralists with an age-group and *manyatta* system which inevitably weakens the lineage system, a depth of two or at the most three. The Dorobo are hunters, and so largely nomadic, but preserve the family group with father and son frequently living together in one camp. The figures of four and seven generations fall neatly between the Bantu and Masai extremes of twelve and two.

TABLE IV

Method I, from Personal Histories

<i>Gap Between:</i>			
<i>Gap</i>	<i>Informant and Father</i>	<i>Father and Grandfather</i>	<i>Grandfather and Great Grandfather</i>
0	1	1	—
1	22	15	3
2	39	31	1
3	8	7	—
4	1	1	4
5	—	2	—
Total	<u>71</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>8</u>
Average	1·80	1·96	1·63

father and between the father and the grandfather. The generation-set names of the individuals concerned were not counted. It transpired that the average gap in the first case, i.e. informant to father, was 1·80, whilst that between father and grandfather was 1·96; the latter figure is based on 57 samples as the remainder did not know their grandfathers. The figure obtained between grandfather and great grandfather is statistically insignificant as being based on too small a sample.

The informants in Method I were those whom I contacted in the course of my enquiry, and included people of all grades from warrior to senior elders. The greater preponderance of informants were of the Derito group. To ensure that the results obtained did not apply only to this particular group, I employed Method II whereby a representative gathering of headmen and elders were asked to state the age-group of all the adult males of the area as these were read out from the

tax registers. It should be explained that in the register, the tax payer's name and that of his father is recorded. It was, therefore, simple to read out the name, ask the age-group name and then read out the father's name asking the same question. Very seldom were the informants in doubt concerning any individual. When they were so, the case was discarded.

The results of this enquiry are set out in Table V. It will be noted that in addition to dealing with the Derito generation¹ as a whole, the Kisale and Merisho age-sets are also dealt with individually. As would be expected, the Merisho being a left-hand set, were initiated younger,² so that the gap between them and their fathers is less than that in the case of the Kisale, or for that matter, any other group on record. Apart from this, no other trend of statistical significance can be observed from these figures; the Dwati generation must be discarded as so few samples were available. Thus the average gap between generations obtained by Method II is 1·84 with a range from 1·73 to 2·20. This tallies closely with the figure obtained by Method I where the result was 1·80.

If Method I is thus proved satisfactory in respect of the informant-father gap, there is thus reason to place reliance on the figure covering the father-grandfather gap. This, it will be noted, is 1·96, considerably greater than the informant-father gap. Applying this information to historically ascertained dates, we know that 75 years have elapsed from our datum line, 1881, to the present, and that in this period five generation-sets have completed their cycle. We know that the gap figure in the past was higher than at present; in other words, that the duration of the sets was greater in the past. We can, therefore, assume that 75 is to 1·80, as is X, the period occupied by the

Hollis (1905) p. 262.

¹ It might be as well to clear up possible confusion between the two words Il-Dareto and Il-derito, Dareto being the names of two successive generation-sets. The latter is derived from *en derit* (dust), the reference being to the cloud of dust seen in the distance which indicates that the warriors, returning from a raid, have been successful and have captured a large herd of cattle. The former may be derived from *eretoto* (the afterbirth), but more probably from the root "to help". Hollis gives this meaning when it occurs regularly in every age-set as the name for the second year's sub-set.

² This is because the right-hand circumcision draws off the backlog after the long *endungore* or closure between the two generation-sets. The left-hand circumcision has not been preceded by so long a closure, so there are fewer mature youths awaiting circumcision when the set commences. This means both a younger and a smaller set. The only statistics available are Fosbrooke (1946) where the Table on p. 32 shows that out of a sample of 582 Moran, 460 were of the right-hand and 122 of the left-hand circumcision.

TABLE V

Method II, from Tax Registers

Son's Generation	Father's Generation	Naberera		Monduli	
		357 in Sample		343 in Sample	
		No. of Occurrences	Average Gap	No. of Occurrences	Average Gap
Kalikal generation	Kisale	3		1	
	Dareto	57		58	
	Dwati	52		49	
	Dalala	24		41	
	Laimer	6		4	
	Total	142	1.73	153	1.93
Merisho age-set	Dareto	5		1	
	Dwati	28		22	
	Dalala	29		28	
	Laimer	4		4	
	Nyangusi	2		4	
	Total	68	1.56	59	1.80
Kisale age-set	Dareto	2		2	
	Dwati	23		24	
	Dalala	67		68	
	Laimer	10		11	
	Nyangusi	2		3	
	Total	104	1.88	108	1.90
Derito generation (Merisho and Kisale combined)	Dareto	7		3	
	Dwati	51		46	
	Dalala	96		95	
	Laimer	14		15	
	Nyangusi	4		7	
	Total	172	1.75	166	1.86
Dareto generation	Dwati	3		3	
	Dalala	11		6	
	Laimer	10		6	
	Nyangusi	9		6	
	Dwati I	2		3	
	Total	35	1.89	24	2.00
Dwati generation	Dalala	-		-	
	Laimer	-		-	
	Nyangusi	4		1	
	Dwati I	1		-	
	Total	5	2.20	1	2.00
Overall Average			1.77		1.90

five generation-sets immediately preceding the datum line, to 196. The answer to this equation is 69 years. It would thus appear that those five generation-sets covered the period from 1812 to 1881, an average of approximately 14 years per generation-set. These figures have consequently been adopted in Table III.

These findings are contrary to the generally held belief that the warriors are entering elderhood earlier these days than they used to do. This same fallacy held sway 50 years ago, when Hollis wrote his note 1 on page 302: "Formerly no Masai was able to marry until he had been on several raids, but *nowadays* they leave the ranks of the warriors (il-muran) and settle down as married men (il-moruak) *at a comparatively early age*" (my italics). Sandford, writing in 1918, repeats the same belief when he says that after the *unoto* ceremony (p. 69): "The outgoing warriors also have their hair cut, and return to their 'Manyattas'. They may still remain Muran for as long as three years but it is said that in the absence of any wars, this period will be much less."

What may be happening is that more Masai are to-day marrying whilst still warriors than used to, but they certainly cannot cease to be warriors and become elders till the holding of the *ngesher* ceremony. For the indeterminate status of married warriors the term *ol-morijoi* is sometimes heard (see also Tompo, p. 53, note 10).

In passing, it is of interest to note how the "age" distribution of the population has altered since statistics were last collected on the subject in 1939 – see the table at p. 32 in my *Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System*. A comparison has been drawn up in Table VI, which shows that

TABLE VI

Distribution of Population by Grades

	1939		1954	
	No. in Sample	%	No. in Sample	%
Warriors . .	582	57.0	295	42.1
Junior Elders .	218	21.5	339	48.6
Senior Elders .	159	15.5	59	8.4
Retired Elders.	62	6.0	6	0.9
	1,021	100	699	100

now that the big double generation-set of the Kisale and Merisho age-sets have entered elderhood, the proportion of warriors to elders has changed considerably. In 1939 warriors predominated, 57 per cent; now the elders are in the majority, i.e. 57.9 per cent. This latter figure is perhaps a trifle low, as those elders who are exempt from tax do not appear in the registers, and in consequence were not counted in 1954 as they were in 1939.

To summarize, the Masai age-group system and the ceremonies pertaining thereto may be taken as a sure guide for dating events so far recorded by oral tradition only. In respect of the three-quarters of a century from 1881 to the present, when tradition can be confirmed by written record, the system shows, within limits, marked consistency. In the previous 75 years, there has been no marked change either in the system or the period occupied by each group, which illustrates remarkably the stability of the Masai social system in an era where cultures are changing so rapidly. Thus for the last century and a half we have well dated pegs on which to hang traditional events; beyond that, speculation is profitless.

PART II: AGE-GROUPS IN NEIGHBOURING TRIBES

General

A large number of neighbouring Bantu tribes also maintain an age-group system, and if it were found that these in any way equated with the Masai groups, confirmation or refutation of the above dating might be obtained. Eisenstadt (1954) has

recently summarized the literature most conveniently and comprehensively, whilst a couple of recent volumes of the Ethnographic Survey by Prinz (1952) and Middleton (1953) make more readily accessible information concerning the age-sets of the Pokomo, Nyika, Teita, Kikuyu and Kamba. None of these, however, equate with the

Masai, nor any of Eisenstadt's numerous tribes; a superficial resemblance might lead one to suppose that the Ikoma and the related Sonjo might possess groups related to those of the Masai; but Baker's accounts (1927 and 1953) reveal a cyclic pattern far divorced from the Masai linear system. The same author's account (1929) of the Kuria system reveals this as linear, not cyclic, and evidences contact with the Masai, alleged victories being celebrated by the adoption of names thought to be those of Masai age-groups; in fact the names mentioned occur in no known Masai list of age-groups, though one is recognizable as a place name, Ngarinaro (*sic*), more properly *Engare Narok*, i.e. *Narok*, a District Headquarter station in Kenya.

Thus, apart from the Kwavi mentioned above, a review of the literature, combined with local information, reveals that only the Arusha, Meru (of Tanganyika, *not* Kenya), Chagga, Taveta and Gogo have age-groups equatable with the Masai. Until recently, the Arusha and Meru not only kept in step with, but adopted *in toto* the Masai system, revering the same *laibon*, attending the same ceremonies and taking the same names as the Kissongo Masai. Thus there is nothing to be gained by recapitulating from another angle what is already known.

It is not clear where the splinter groups in Northern Kenya, the Samburu and Njemps (Il-tiamus) fit into the age-group picture, though the latter are said by Huntingford (1953) to perform "*unoto* and other ceremonies". This implies that they have formalized age-groups, though no record is known concerning the names or other details of such groups.

The Taveta

Regarding the Taveta, we have to go back fifty years to Hollis (1901), to whose article Mr. G. W. B. Huntingford, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, has kindly drawn my attention. Many of the Taveta groups bear names similar to the Masai; in view of the generally accepted fact that the Taveta are a composite group with a strong infusion of Masai-type culture, one may justifiably start from the assumption that it is the

Taveta who have adopted a system introduced by the Masai, and not the reverse.

It is not at first sight easy to equate the Taveta system with the Masai from which it is derived. This is in part due to the adaptations to which the Taveta have subjected the system and in part to the fact that Hollis published – and presumably collected – the Taveta material prior to finalizing his Masai enquiries; the relative dates of publication are 1901 and 1905. Even when the latter work was published the Masai age-group system is only described as far as the *unoto* ceremony, called by Hollis "The selection of a Chief", which we now know as the ceremony of promotion from junior to senior warriorhood. The next step, the *ngesher* or promotion from senior warriorhood to junior elderhood fails to find a place in Hollis, which is accounted for by the fact that only one ceremony is held for the whole tribe once in every 15 years; this is performed by the Kissongo section in Tanganyika, so it is not surprising that Hollis failed to describe it.

But once the equation is established between the Taveta "election of the chiefs" and the Masai *unoto*, the other features of Hollis's description fall into place. The Taveta "naming" is the institution of a new age-set, the three "groups or *mirata*" are sub-sets. The period between "naming" and the "election of a chief" corresponds to junior warriorhood, whilst junior elderhood – reached without a period of senior warriorhood or a *ngesher* ceremony – is the grade which "reigns", and not, as with the Masai, the senior elders. Marriage or betrothal is permitted for at least the top sub-set of the warrior group, and this enables a nubile girl to be available for the ceremony which inaugurates a new group – this is not a Masai contribution to the Taveta system. The Masai system of alternating generations enjoying reciprocal rights and duties reflects in Taveta where the group next above the "reigning" group assist and choose a name for the junior group in course of formation.

It would be an exercise in itself to analyse the Taveta system and to trace the origin of its component parts, but enough has been said to illustrate that the Masai system forms its framework.

An interesting account has recently come to light explaining how the Masai system came to intrude itself into the Taveta structure. It is to be found in the autobiography of Justin Lemenye (1954), an African whom Hollis employed when engaged on his *The Masai*, in the preface of which tribute is paid to this assistance. Justin himself died on 23rd June, 1954, but has left an autobiography in Swahili which was published posthumously. In this, he recounts how just on sixty years ago, an old man at Taveta whom Justin thought to be aged seventy at the time, described how he became absorbed into the Taveta tribe.

In view of the interest of this account, a personal description of events happening some 120 years ago, I quote at length from a translation which I have prepared for publication in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*. The old man, talking to the youthful Justin, says :

"I remember long ago when I was a child we lived on the banks of the river called Moibo or Ruvu at a place called Osugati or Mvungwe. The people living on the other side, that is in the area of Naberera and Lossogonoi, all those were beaten up by the Masai. Our clan, called Engang Elema, was more numerous on the side of the river called Osugati. When our fathers heard of these defeats, we moved over to the hill called Lalema, the hills of Pare.

"Thus we lived – the original inhabitants in the hills and we on the plains below. When we saw Masai carrying strife in all directions, we crossed over the hills to get farther away from them. When we reached the descent on the other side of the hills, we found a great wilderness into which we penetrated, for we saw that we could there live in peace. We lived there for several years without fear, then by bad luck, cattle disease came in and all the cattle died in three big villages. No one had any cattle left, for those which remained, we ate owing to famine. From those villages no one knows where his companions went, I only know that we continued to press on through the wilderness. First we ate skins, then we ate tortoises and the remains of animals which had been killed by lions. Even-

tually we came to the country where we are now.

"One day, a hunting party from our area met up with a party of Taveta who were also hunting. That day we did not attack each other, but waved green branches which are a sign of peace. After a few days we moved closer to one another, the Taveta being attracted when we were skinning a zebra which we had caught in a pit-fall. It was amazing that people who could not understand each other's language should sit down and eat together. We gave them meat and they went off home. The following day three men and two women returned. They brought bananas, maize and potatoes to our village which they could not miss because it was most conspicuous beneath the hill called the Hill of the Rombo. It was we who were called Rombo and the hill bears that name till to-day. Our people were not all in the one place. If you enquire all around, you will hear that some went as far as Himo where they saw three bomas of those Masai who are called Kunono, that is, the smiths. These people tried to persuade us to go and live with them. Some refused saying, 'Who was it that dispersed us and brought us to our present poor status, was it not they? (The Masai.) We will have nothing to do with them.' Thus our boma split, three elders joining in with the Masai, namely, Tarkashi, Lekuluva, and Ngombe.

"We who remained threw in our lot with the Taveta. Each was assigned to a particular clan, but we were all placed in one area. We were not prevented from following our own customs. Each one was given a plot of bananas so that we were able to hold circumcision feasts for our children. As the beer of that country was banana beer, with which we were unacquainted, the locals helped us to prepare it. Our warriors danced their own dances and the Taveta came and joined in. We realised that these people had no dances of their own except that the elders sang at the time of circumcision. The Taveta requested that their children should join in our circumcision ceremonies and the elders straight away agreed as

we liked these people very much. Now our customs are combined in all such matters."

Justin concludes his description with the following comment :

"The old man Kikoi spoke truly. I am only a youngster, but I think that the Taveta had not been in their country many years before the Kwavi arrived and joined up with them."

This is not altogether compatible with Hollis's dating from the Taveta age-sets. These, according to Hollis, go back to 1684, or if adjusted as suggested by Huntingford in a personal communication, to 1789. The Taveta list corresponds closely to Hollis's Masai list, produced as Table I above. It is apparent that when the Taveta adopted the Kwavi circumcision ceremony, they took over a traditional list of previous age-names. This accounts for the fact that many of these early names, as pointed out above, are Kwavi names. In that case, it may well be asked ; "How have any Masai names got into the Taveta list ?" In reply, I would suggest that these very early names may well be shared by the Masai and Kwavi, dating from a time before these two closely related peoples split.

The Chagga

To-day the Chagga no longer divide themselves into named age-groups, so we must fall back on Dundas (1924) to outline the position as it appeared to him over 30 years ago. After explaining that the Chagga age-group system originated in the Masai, he sets out a list of the then (1924) extant age-groups, reproduced in Table VII. If we endeavour to correlate this list with the Masai, Table III, we see that Kinangusi obviously equates with the Masai Nyangusi. Concerning this group Dundas comments "hardly any living"; this indeed was the situation amongst the Nyangusi when I first made contact with the Masai in 1934. By 1935 only one Nyangusi was known to be alive.

The Chagga Merisho, whom Dundas designated as "old men" in 1924, correspond to the Masai Laimer ; in fact the name Merisho is the name of the Laimer right-hand age-set amongst the Masai.

In the next junior group, whom Dundas calls

TABLE VII

Chagga Age-Groups

(From C. Dundas, *Kilimanjaro and its People*, p. 209)

(Reversed to bring oldest group to top, uniform with the Tables)

Makibola, in Machame, Kibongoto Mbokom	old men (one aged man living)
Kinangusi, in Machame, Marangu, Moshi and Kibongoto	old men (hardly any living)
Merisho, in all localities	old men
Mangusha, in all localities	} elders
Meruturutu, in all localities (except Rombo)	
Mbarinoti, in all localities (except Kibongoto)	
Olkishoni, in all localities	young men
Seura, in Moshi, Kibosho and Kibongoto	} youths
Stambuli, in Machame and Kibongoto	
Kimakamaka, in Machame	

(The place names are Chagga Chiefdoms)

"elders", the name Meruturutu occurs ; amongst the Masai this was an alternative name for the right-hand age-set of the Dalala, so the correlation here is satisfactory. It is not clear from Dundas's list, however, whether the names that precede and follow the Meruturutu, viz. Mangusha and Mbarinoti, are alternatives to Meruturutu or represent separate age-sets. As all are stated to apply to all localities, they cannot be regarded as local variations to indicate the same age-set. Perhaps the Mangusha are the left-hand circumcision following the Merisho and the Mbarinoti of similar status following the Meruturutu. It is significant that both Merisho and Meruturutu are right-hand sets with the Masai. But either Dundas failed to

record or the Chagga failed to assimilate the Masai system whereby two age-sets combined to form one generation. It is thus profitless to pursue conjecture in this matter any further.

We are still on firm ground in relation to those whom Dundas calls "young men", designated by the Chagga, *Olkishoni*. In Masai this name is alternative to *Seuri*, the age-set name of those who, without the addition of a left-hand circumcision, became the second *Dwati* generation. As with the Masai, these performed their *unoto* in 1917 and so, in our terminology would be "junior-elders", marrying and settling down in the period when Dundas was working amongst the Chagga.

Of those designated "youths" by Dundas, only the name *Seura* bears any resemblance to a Masai name *Seuri*, but with the Masai this was alternative to the *Kishon*, who, as shown in the proceeding paragraph, were junior elders in Dundas's time.

The list provided by Gutmann (1924) in *Das Recht der Dschagga* shows some divergence from Dundas. The youngest group when he wrote of the Moshi Chiefdom sometime immediately post 1917 was *Sehura* (c.f. *Seura*, Dundas), which had been circumcised in 1917 and was wooing at the time of writing. The *Kisoin* (*Kishoni*, Dundas) were of the group "whose members had married most recently", preceded by *Oparinoti* (*Mbarinoti*, Dundas), *Kiruru* (not in Dundas) and *Meruturutu* (corresponds to Dundas). Then Dundas puts in a group, *Mangusha*, which does not appear in Gutmann, who finishes his list with *Meriso*, obviously Dundas' *Merisho*.

Thus there is general correspondence, but the divergencies of an extra age here and one omitted there are illustrative of the fact that no close correspondence can be expected when each chiefdom was an independent unit and each chief made his own decision concerning the establishment of a new age in the light of local circumstances.

Reverting to Dundas, we see that the middle section of his table corresponds reasonably, both in names and dates, with the Masai as set out in Table IV, but diverges both at the beginning and the end. This is just what could be expected if two factors have been correctly assessed, firstly, that the age-group system is of Masai origin,

adopted by the Chagga and, secondly, that the Chagga in adapting the system, subordinated it to their existing political organization, viz. chiefship.

In view of the general picture of the distribution of the age-group system, we need not linger over a consideration of the first proposition, but can assume that it is the Masai who gave the Chagga their age-groups, and not *vice versa*. Concerning the second proposition, Dundas says: "It must be noted that the whole institution is adopted from the Masai, but cannot be regulated with the same precision as among that tribe, for the reason that the recurrence of circumcisions depends among the Wachagga on the number of Chief's sons and their relative ages. Since there is, moreover, no general circumcision for the tribe, the period required to make a *rika* (i.e. age-set) complete will further depend on the population of each Chiefship. ... A new *rika* may also be hastened or delayed to suit political ends, thus the great Chief Rindi, after his defeat in *Usseri*, caused the youths of *Moshi* to be circumcised somewhat earlier than usual in order to create a new warrior class to fill up the ranks of his depleted army. Many a chief may have manipulated the order of *rikas* in this wise to suit his convenience and needs."

Two comments are called for, firstly it is not the order but the frequency of the age-sets that the Chief manipulated. Secondly, the outstanding fact is that it is the Chief who manipulates, not a *laibon* (magico-religious leader), either Masai or local. This is confirmed from the Masai side, for during the whole of my enquiries I never heard the Masai claim that the Chagga came to a Masai *laibon*, though it is admitted on both sides that both the Meru and the Arusha did so.

Raum (1940) provides confirmation for the proposition that the age-group system is subordinated to the chiefship amongst the Chagga when he says (p. 309): "The Chief and the ruling age-group fixed the time of a general circumcision in such a manner that the age-group had among its ranks a son of the Chief. He thus became its natural leader. In pursuing this policy, it sometimes happened that an age-group comprised members from about five to twenty-five years of age. On the other hand, some age-groups had no royal

representative at all and were, therefore, less respectable" (my italics). P. I. Marealle, himself a Chagga Chief, describes the position in practically the same words in his Swahili account of Chagga life (1947). On page 33 he says: "According to Chagga custom an age-set does not receive the same regard as is usual if it does not count amongst its numbers a potential heir to the Chiefship."

Thus the Chagga, whilst agreeing with the Masai in the middle span of age-groups, diverge both at the beginning and the end of the table. This point will be referred to in the concluding paragraphs where a general proposition is propounded.

The Gogo

Another recently published Swahili work, this time on the Gogo, by Mathias E. Mnyampala (1954), reproduces a list of age-groups which system is admittedly borrowed from the Masai. In view of the inaccessibility of the original, I produce the list herewith, with the author's dating, as Table VIII. A comparison with Table III shows that correspondence commences with Gogo No. 7, Lemeta probably equating with Lemek, an alternative name for the left-hand age-group of the Laimer generation, dating from about 1875. Gogo Nos. 8 and 9 correspond to the two age-names of the Masai Dalala generation, 1881 and 1888, and the Gogo No. 10 with Kishon, an alternative name for the Seuri or Dwati, 1896. Subsequently the Gogo names become unrecognizable, though it is significant that the Gogo list, like the Masai, shows four ages since the Kishon. Further significance is to be found in the final Gogo name Manamba. *Manamba*, from the English word "number", means a recruit or contract labourer, the reason being that such men are lined up and numbered. Recruiting was being undertaken amongst the Gogo for military and essential civilian services in the early "forties"; the date of the last Masai age is 1942, so the correspondence seems certain.

TABLE VIII

Gogo Age-Groups

(From *Historia Mila Na Desturi Za Wagogo Wa Tanganyika*, by Mathias E. Mnyampala, 1954)

(Translated into English and prefix *al-* omitted)

1. Ngilyani ; end of 15th century.
2. Mingilay ; beginning of 16th century.
3. Milisho ; middle of 16th century.
4. Kidemi ; end of 16th century.
5. Mangusha ; beginning of 17th century.
6. Mundonu ; middle of 17th century.
7. Lemeta ; or
Sukambelya ; end of 17th century.
8. Kishomu ; beginning of 18th century.
9. Kisaruni ; middle of 18th century.
10. Kishomi ; or
Metemi ; end of 18th to beginning of 19th century.
11. Ngurumu ; early to mid-19th century.
12. Kitumbotu ; or
Ngirangi ; near the end of the 19th century.
13. Barangati ; end of the 19th century.
14. Manamba ; beginning of the 20th century.

Going back, Gogo Nos. 1-6 are unrecognizable¹ by Masai standard, but it is probable that they came from Kwavi names. It is known that the Kwavi were forerunners of the Masai in central Tanganyika, and so contacted the Gogo first. It is very significant that the first Masai name in the Gogo list belongs to the age during which the Masai settled the Kiteto area (see Table III), this abutting on Gogoland and representing the southernmost penetration of the Masai before famine and smallpox necessitated retreat. It is obvious from the above that the author's dating in Table VIII should be disregarded.

¹ Excepting *Milisho* probably equating with *Merisho*.

CONCLUSION

The first part of this paper sets out to affix dates to known Masai age-group names, and it is claimed that this has been done with some accuracy in respect of the last 150 years.

But the dates arrived at are markedly inconsistent with those attributed by other observers to the age-groups of neighbouring tribes, which groups bear names corresponding to Masai groups. This fact is capable of two explanations: the Masai might have borrowed the names from the neighbouring Bantu, but with a time lag, but this assumes that the neighbouring Bantu had a system prior to the advent of the Masai type Nilo-hamite into this area; all the evidence negates this proposition. The alternative is that the authors concerned have pre-dated the age-groups: it is understandable that this should occur when dealing with a system only partially adopted and understood by the tribes concerned. It is the more probable explanation of the inconsistencies.¹

In addition to reasonably accurate dating of local events in Tanganyika, a more general proposition emerges from this study. It must be assumed for the purpose of argument – and there is much strong evidence for the assumption which need not be produced here – that the Masai-type culture has been relatively stable over recent centuries, whilst the Bantu cultures with which it came into contact were at the time in a formative stage; from this it follows that the Nilo-hamites brought formalized age-grouping to the Bantu and not the reverse. The general proposition then is this, that the point in time at which the Masai and Bantu age-groups coincide is the point at which the Masai and the tribe concerned first made contact. It is obvious from what is recorded about the Chagga that the Masai and a neighbouring Bantu tribe cannot keep their age-groups in step if their political systems differ. Only common allegiance

to a single head responsible for naming the generation-sets can perpetuate uniformity. Let us test this on the material available, starting from the south, and working northward.

First the Gogo: they first correspond with the Masai in the Left-hand age-group of the Laimer, c. 1874; they keep in step through the Dalala (1881) and Dwati (1896), but since then have diverged both in name and date. This corresponds with traditional history as recorded by the Masai, who state that they settled in the Kiteto area in the Laimer period. But what about the earlier names in the Gogo list? These can only have been adopted from the forerunners of the Masai, the Kwavi, and possibly some now lost precursors of the Kwavi, e.g. the Ngasa in the Kilimanjaro region.

An examination of the Chagga list is equally revealing. Correspondence occurs first with the Nyangusi (1853), through the Laimer (1867), Dalala (1881) and Dwati (1896), to be lost in succeeding age-groups. Prior to the Nyangusi only one age-group name occurs in the Chagga list, but this is significantly not traceable in any Masai record.

The correspondence between the Masai and Taveta goes further back still, in fact the Taveta list carries the very earliest of the Masai names. This is irreconcilable with Justin's account of the Kwavi's reception into the Taveta tribe unless we assume that the Kwavi not only injected the system, but also a list of names which never existed in Taveta. If this could happen in one case it might equally well have happened in others, and so detract from the value of the above proposition.

All that can be said is that the farther north one goes, the earlier is the correspondence between the Masai and the neighbouring Bantu age-group names. This is consistent with the previously

¹ Those who attempt to challenge this dating will be able to point to "Masai" influences in the cultures of these Bantu tribes which ante-date the dates which I postulate for the arrival of the Masai in this area. The answer is that the Masai, as we know them to-day, were not the first of their stock to penetrate; we know that the Kwavi preceded the Masai, and there is evi-

dence that other groups preceded the Kwavi. One such is the Ngasa group on the eastern slopes of Kilimanjaro, a remnant tribe of unknown origin, numbering to-day about one thousand, whose language suggests that they were forerunners of the Masai. A note on this was recently published in *African Studies* (Fosbrooke, 1954).

accepted history of the Masai coming from the north, and reaching the limit of their expansion when they contacted the Gogo at a comparatively recent date.

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AN ETHNOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF A HINDUSTANI MARRIAGE IN DURBAN¹

HILDA KUPER *

SYNOPSIS

In this, the second of three articles,² I describe a marriage by Orthodox (Sanathan) rites among Hindi-speaking Hindus in Durban. The family of the girl took the initiative in finding a suitable boy. Though caste endogamy is considered desirable, it may be unattainable in the South African set-up. The final sanction for choice, and subsequent activities, are referred to the Almanac and interpreted by a priest of the Maharaj caste.

Negotiations lead to an acceptance at the boy's home; and the marriage ceremony itself takes place at the girl's home (or in a hall hired by her family). Prayers and rites are very elaborate, symbolizing the binding together of the couple, their purification and benediction, their future status and responsibilities. Specially significant is the circling by the couple of the sacred fire and the taking of vows. The climax of the ritual is the placing by the groom of sindhoor (vermilion powder) down the central parting of the bride's hair, and the marking of her forehead with a tika (red dot of wifehood). Kin and friends act as witnesses of the ceremony, and the incorporation of the couple into the in-law group is expressed in elaborate ceremonial gift-giving and meals.

Marriage is essentially patrilocal and the mother's kin has limited authority over the girl once she is married. The Sanathan, Orthodox rites, differ in various respects from the so-called Vedic or Reform.

When Mr. P. T. Lalla's eldest daughter reached the age of sixteen, his old father told him to find for her a boy of the same caste, of good family and good character. Mr. Lalla told his wife and the search began. It was very difficult to find such a boy, as the Lallas are of the Kayet caste, and there are not many Kayets in South Africa. Months later a friend told P. T. of a family with the right background living about twenty miles from his home. Together with Mrs. P. T. they went to see the father of the boy. Both sets of parents were

satisfied with what they learnt and saw of each other, and P. T. and his wife "liked the look of the boy". However the boy's father had asked P. T. if his daughter was educated, to which P. T. had replied with pride that she had learnt Hindi up to Std. III. When P. T. returned home and reported everything, his father asked what standard of education the boy had reached. Unfortunately P. T. had not enquired, so after a few days P. T. together with his old father went back to find out and when the old man learnt that the boy had no

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The term *Hindustani* needs clarification. In India it is applied to a language with a Hindi base and Persian

(Urdu) influence, spoken by people living in many parts of Central and Northern India. It is *not used for the people* who speak the language, because they have no solidarity as a single in-group, and identify themselves on other than language similarities with their local cultures. In South Africa, however, the word is applied *both to the language and to the people*, who, coming from various parts of India, merged on the basis of language, and distinguished themselves as Hindustani from other groups, e.g. Tamil, Telegu and Gujarati, who are also defined by their common language, which has helped create wider cultural uniformity.

² For the first of these, "An Ethnographic Description of a Tamil-Hindu Marriage in Durban" see *African Studies*, 15, 1, 1956.

Hindi education (though he had been to Std. III in English), he and P. T. left immediately and negotiations were thus abruptly ended. On his return home he rebuked his son soundly for not considering the traditions of the family.

Nearly four years passed and no other family of the right type appeared. The only other Kayet family was too closely related to P. T. — among South African Hindustani kin-marriage is prohibited with traceable relationship up to the 8th generation in the paternal and 4th generation in the maternal line. P.T. translated for me a traditional Hindi saying: "Marry from among strangers so that you do not beget a weak offspring. Whoever wishes to obtain a noble breed must marry from a foreign country. Just as one obtains good fruit from a branch grafted on a foreign trunk." And another pandit quoted: "It is not possible for conjugal love to be bred among children of the same parents."

Preliminaries and proposal

When the girl turned twenty her mother became anxious and asked her husband what he proposed to do, to which P. T. replied that he wanted his father to decide, since he had been so displeased about his first choice. So P. T.'s wife spoke to her mother-in-law, who in turn spoke to her husband and he told P. T. to "try again". P. T. had a close friend N. K. who, though he was not a Kayet but a Kohar (pot-maker), was of the same class (*varna* i.e. a *Vaisya*), as Lalla and was highly respected. His first son was married, and his second son was 25 years old, moderately educated in Hindi and in English and in a good job. P. T.'s wife was very pleased and she told his mother, who told his father and according to Mrs. P. T. the old man sadly agreed, "for he had to admit that times had changed, and good boys are scarce and caste is dying out".

P. T. then broached the subject through a third party with his friend who responded with undisguised interest. The third party, spoken of as *agwa*, is always used as intermediary to both parties. One girl had been rejected by N. K. because her brother had tuberculosis, but apart from caste, P. T.'s daughter had all the desired quali-

ties. She came from a decent, respected family, was capable of managing a home, was of considerable and gentle disposition, healthy and light-skinned, and not too highly educated for the boy. Moreover N. K. had been told that his son was "beginning to be a little wild", and marriage was the obvious solution. P. T. and N. K. were sufficiently modern to speak to their children before going any further. The young people, who had seen each other on various occasions, though they had had no direct conversation, accepted their parents choice.

Both families followed the elaborate *Sanathan* (Orthodox) ritual, which in South Africa varies in detail from one *brahmin* to another, but the main rites are much the same.

The engagement (chekai)

Before the formal engagement (*chekai*) each father consulted his own family *brahmin* to see from the *Panchang* (Almanac) if the two young people's "stars matched" (*gana bayite*). The verdict was satisfactory and on an "auspicious" day the girl's party came for the *chekai*. P. T. invited his close kin (making a special point of fetching his wife's brother), and a few "respected people" from the neighbourhood. The family *brahmin* directed the ceremony, and with formality and prayer the girl's father gave to the boy a gift, in this case, a shirt and £2 in cash, which the girl had previously touched to show that it went with her consent and was auspicious. By accepting the gift, the boy's parents showed they considered the engagement favourably; the boy was not however, legally bound, and if the negotiations fell through this gift could not be demanded back.

The betrothal (thiluk)

A *lagna* (auspicious time) was fixed for both betrothal (*thiluk*) and wedding (*vivasanskar*). Both parties sent out separate invitations. On the groom's invitation, his grandparents' and parents' names were first, and on the bride's, her parents' names were first. Each family paid for their own cards, 250 (a minimum) were printed by each, and on a set day were delivered by hand to relatives and friends. The engagement takes place at the

boy's home, the wedding at the girl's. The period between the two ceremonies is never very long – it is seldom more than a couple of weeks and frequently a *thiluk* is on the day before marriage. P. T.'s son's *thiluk* was a week before so that there would be no last minute rush.

The bride's party arrived at the groom's home for the *thiluk* and was cordially welcomed. The party consisted of an uneven number of men, including the bride's father and brother, her father's brother and her father's sister's husband. They brought with them stereotyped gifts – a shirt and *dhoti*, sweetmeats, betel leaf, betel nuts, garlands and a substantial amount in cash. The amount of cash is not fixed but is a sign of the standing of the girl's family. N. K. gave £10. In the average working class family it is from £5 to £15. They also took with them some uncooked paddy rice (*dhan*) wrapped in yellow calico.

Relatives and close friends of the groom and bride were invited as witnesses. The groom was brought to the place prepared for the ceremony. The gifts were held by the bride's brother for the *brahmin* to bless, and were then ceremonially transferred to the groom. Women of the groom's family sang songs to the accompaniment of a *dholak* (double drum), commenting on, and guiding the procedure, e.g. "You have come to our home and we will entertain you. You must accept what we give you."

The groom was further honoured by the bride's people. Her brother sprinkled "sweet water" on his feet (i.e. a symbolic washing, with water from a moving stream, not from a pool or from the sea), garlanded him, and put on his forehead a red dot (*tika*) of marriage, and together he and the groom took part in the *havan* (sacred fire ritual).

His own people blessed him in the ritual of *chume* (literally, kiss). Five women in turn led by his own mother took a little rice and special grass used in ritual, and touched him with these three times on the foot, knees, shoulders and head. The last person circled a vessel of water three times round his head, dropping some of the water on the ground each time.

The *thiluk* ended with a vegetarian meal provided by the groom's people for the guests. The

dhan (uncooked paddy rice) brought by the girl's group was mixed with *dhan* and coppers from the boy's home. The *brahmin* divided the whole lot in two; if more money was on the girl's portion it was interpreted that she was bringing *lutchmee* (wealth, prosperity), if more on his, he was the lucky one. The girl's party returned with their share of the *dhan* which would be required in a further ceremony, the *lawā*, for the wedding day.

Together with the *dhan*, the girl's party was given oil and turmeric, a set of clothes dipped in turmeric – all things required in the subsequent anointing ceremony, the *huldee*.

The nuptial pole

The anointing is preceded by the raising of a ritual pole known as *asthambhropan*, or *huldee*, or (most commonly) *haris* at the home of both girl and boy. One *brahmin* came to perform the ceremony at the home of the bride, another at the home of the groom. The *brahmin* is assisted by a *nao*. Formerly the assistant (*nao*) was of the *Nao* (Barber) caste, but to-day he is of any caste though he is still described as the *nao*. An altar (*chauk*), three to four feet square, was made of raised earth smeared with cowdung and decorated with ground white meal. The *nao* dug a hole in the centre, and then erected the ritual pole. He took a plank, washed it in turmeric water, cut five grooves and tied to the pole a banana tree and a bamboo, using the sacred *kus* grass as rope round the grooves. In front of the altar he placed a *kalas* or (*kalsa*), an earthenware pot on which a relative on the bride's side rubbed cowdung, and ornamented it with turmeric, red dots and grains of paddy rice. Five married women, with their husbands still living, filled the pot with water and put in betel nuts and a penny, covered the opening with a lid, and put on it five mango leaves, rice and a clay lamp with oil. The priest made a small turmeric image representing Ganesh, the elephant-headed god, remover of obstacles, to whom he prayed that all would be well. The *haris* at the bride's home serves as the foundation of the wedding canopy; at the groom's home it marks the place where the bride and groom will sit, and, after prayers, open the *kunkan* (bangles) tied round their wrists, thereby ending the wedding ceremony

at the groom's residence. From the day the pole is raised until the opening of the *kunkan* no flesh is cooked in either home.

The anointing (huldee)

Following the pole raising was a sacred fire ritual (*havan*), and then the anointing (*huldee*) of the young couple and preparation of the bridal rooms. Among the Hindustani both bride and groom should be anointed seven times, in their parents' homes. Originally this was done on seven consecutive days, at present it is usually done two or four times on one day and once on the marriage day or seven times on the marriage day itself.

The first anointing, known as *madkhur*, is also described as *dharthi pooja* (earth prayer). "We take everything from Mother Earth, therefore we must appease her", old Mr. L. explained. The married women gathered at the altar, and while one of them played the *dholak* (double drum), others sang special songs to it. Sweetmeats, betel leaf, areca nut, a jar of water, red powder (*sindhoor*), turmeric, camphor and black lentils were put on a dish. Five married women touched the dish, and a *naoin* (female assistant formerly of the *Nao* caste) picked it up, and carried it on her head and the party followed, singing merrily, in the direction of the groom's home. When they found a suitable place the *naoin* put down the dish, seven betel leaves and nuts and seven pieces of camphor and sprinkled the earth with water. With a hoe brought from the home of the father's sister (in return for a *neg*, gift), she dug five lots of sand and dropped them into the end (*achara*) of the mother's *sari*. The *naoin* anointed the mother with the turmeric, and this set off some play between all the women who anointed each other with, for Hindu women, suggestive comments. After this, the sweetmeats and black lentils were eaten and on returning home the mother placed the sand carried in her *sari* under the *kalsa* at the altar, and gave the *naoin* the clothes she had worn at the anointing.

While the women were thus occupied the *brahmin* prayed to a turmeric image of Ganesh and performed a *havan* prior to the bangle (*kunkan*) ceremony. The ingredients required on this occasion were petals of the marigold, milk, sugar, rice,

curds and honey. On the altar were offerings of betelnut, betel leaf, flowers, coconut and camphor. As usual the groom circled the altar, "moving in the direction of the sun", i.e. clockwise, before he sat on the stool, and the *brahmin* tied a ring of the sacred grass round the middle finger of his right hand. Strips of calico were dipped in turmeric water, and one strip was bound round the waist of the groom, another round the *kalsa* and a third round the *haris*, as *kunkan* (bangle). The *kunkan* symbolizes the taking of a vow, and is tied for all major undertakings.

On the return of the women, five married women, led by the groom's mother and including her brothers' wives, poured into his hands rice mixed with sacred grass, turmeric and a gold piece (coin or jewellery), and each woman in turn again performed *chume* for him. The boy took the rice into another room, known henceforth as the *kohbar*, a sacred room (or section of a room) to which he would take his new wife. He then returned, and five unmarried girls, including his sisters, smeared his arms, legs, feet and face with the *huldee* mixture - a mixture of turmeric, sandalwood, sweet oil, attar of roses and ground mustard seeds. During the *huldee* there was joking, and singing of special relevant songs designed "to break down shyness", and to each of those who took part, the boy gave betel leaf and betel nut. The last woman burnt camphor and circled it round the boy, who then went to bathe.

A similar ceremony was held at the bride's home, and she too prepared a *kohbar* (to which she would lead the groom after the marriage ceremony at her home). In the evening the bride's sisters (real and classificatory), gave her a thorough massage with the *huldee* mixture, and they bathed her, throwing extremely hot water over her body.

After the *madkhur* (first *huldee*), the boy and girl should be in relative seclusion till the marriage ceremony is over. The last day of *huldee* is known as *bhat wan* (nice eating) since everyone is well fed on spiced vegetables and delicacies.

The next night (sometimes it is the same night), the *lawā* (popcorn) ceremony was held. Friends of the groom gathered at his home and friends of the bride at hers, and one of the father's sisters fried

the *dhan* (grain) prepared at the engagement at the *haris*, while the older women sang a special song for the occasion. This fried grain has a special term, "*lawā*". Relatives and friends dropped money (mainly silver) into a separate *soop* (winnowing tray) with rice, turmeric stick, betel nut and leaf and this went to the father's sister. There was general jollity, and as the grain popped well and even this was interpreted as a good omen for the marriage. When ready, it was tied into a bundle for the morrow and left overnight in the *kohbar* at each home.

The wedding (vivasanskar)

Early on the wedding morn, groom and bride had a last *huldee* in their own homes, then the groom performed a rite indicating his separation from bachelorhood. He sat together with six unmarried boys from his home, and his mother brought them sweet rice (*meeta kir*), specially prepared at the altar. When they had eaten it, his mother asked him seven times in stereotyped language if his bachelorhood (*kuarpar*) was over, to which questioning he replied "yes", and each time she circled him with water and blessed him "that his future would be clean and propitious". The assistant pared his toe and finger nails, and also those of his mother, and painted the fingers and feet with *henna*. The boy then had *nechoo* performed: his mother dropped a little water on her son's head, letting it trickle into a brass urn which she held in the end (*achara*) of her *sari*. This water was brought with them to the girl's home for her *nechoo*.

Many preparations for their arrival had been made. The girl after her last anointing and bath was dressed in clothes given her by her mother, and in these she was to go through her *nechoo*.

The booth (*janwas*) was being prepared with the *haris* in the centre under the canopy (*mundap*), and there were bright lights in the sign *AUM* and flowers as decoration and various necessary ingredients for ritual. The *pandit*, who for Hindi marriages is always a Maharaj, changed from his Western suit into a white jacket and *dhoti* (loin cloth) and put on a Gandhi cap; the *nao* simply

took off his jacket. Everyone who came to the alter took off their shoes.

Among the ingredients required were trays with flowers, betel leaves, betel nuts, pestle, grindstone and grinder, coconuts, camphor squares, a special candelabra with little oil lamps, and *havan samagree* (different types of grain for the sacred fire ritual). The ingredients were arranged in relation to the rising sun.

The guests were beginning to arrive and there was general sociability, for weddings are recognized as occasions for seeing old friends and talking *duk suk* (sorrow and joy). But the mother of the boy is never present. She stays behind to prepare food and entertain women guests who come to her home, and whose husbands may have gone with her son. The guests as a rule take little notice of what is happening under the altar; they attend so many weddings that the rites, to which they are simply spectators, are without interest and they wait for the meal at the end.

The welcome

When the groom's party arrived it was met by the bride's father and some of his close kinsmen, a few hundred yards from the *pandal*. The bride's father welcomed the groom's father by giving him a bowl of water with some silver and copper coins in it, while the *pandit* chanted *mantras* to attain goodwill and friendship between both families. This is called *samdhee millan* (parents-in-law meeting).

After this the groom came forward and was met by five (or seven) women of the bride's place who performed a rite described as *parchan*. The first woman had a grass winnowing tray with seven fires in small dough lamps (*diya*), a bowl of curds, and seven betel leaves ready for eating, and nearby was another tray with a penny, and calico dipped in turmeric, and a small brass flask with water. The bride's mother made a *tika* (dot) on his forehead with the curd, circulated the winnowing tray five times round his head, placing one lamp on the ground, circled him with the second tray, then with the water, and dropped a little water to the ground. She then gave him a betel leaf and silver coin. The same process was repeated by the re-

maining women. Several informants stated that the purpose of *parchan* was firstly to welcome the groom, secondly to remove any ill effects through the boy's bad behaviour before marriage, thirdly to prevent him thinking of anyone but his bride, and fourthly to remove evil in general.

When the *parchan* was over, the groom was taken to a place specially prepared for *dwar poojah* (door prayer), a ceremony performed on such other occasions as the return of a celibate from his training with his *guru* (teacher), and the arrival of people of importance.

The father of the bride offered the groom a stool, symbolizing "the throne of the home". The groom sat facing East, the father-in-law opposite him, and the pandit on the ground between them. After praying to Ganesh, the bride's father sprinkled water on the groom's feet and applied a *tika* (of turmeric and curd) on his forehead. The priest recited blessings and the bride's father gave a few shillings to the groom. This ended the *dwar poojah* ceremony and the groom and his party were led to the canopy and served with betel leaves and nuts.

In the meantime the girl went through her *meeta kir nechoo*. While seven immature girls sat with her and ate with her sweet rice, her mother said (or asked if) her maidenhood was ended. When she had replied a *naoin* (female attendant), cut her toe and finger nails and then coloured them with *mihawe* (henna). The same was done to her mother who circled her with a winnowing tray containing rice and silver, and then performed her *nechoo*, dropping on the daughter's head the water brought from the groom's home. After that her mother's eldest brother came and dipped a mango leaf in water seven times and gave it first to the bride and then to her mother to bite. He gave them both gifts of clothes and sweetmeats. This ceremony is known as *imli gotai* (lit. tamarind ripe).

When the girl's family had thus identified themselves with her, it was the turn for the groom's family to establish their relationship. The groom's eldest brother (the bride's future senior brother-in-law, known as her *jeth*) gave her and her family gifts which included the bridal *sari* and jewellery, a coronet (*mori*), and clothing for her mother, sister and younger brother. Her mother put the

coronet on herself first and then transferred it to the girl. Then the *jeth* tied a cord of red cotton known as *thagpaat* round the neck of his future sister-in-law and gave her a silver coin. After putting on the *thagpaat*, the woman and her *jeth* must practise mutual avoidance throughout life; even if they live in the same house and see each other daily they must never touch (*choona*), nor speak to, nor look directly at, each other. After *thagpaat* the girl went to the house to bathe and dress up for the wedding ceremony proper, and the clothes she had been wearing were given to the *naoin*.

The groom came to the canopy (*mundap*) where his father-in-law, the *brahmin* and other close kin of the bride were waiting. He wore a turban (*pugdie*) tied North Indian style and a special *kanahawar* (wedding shoulder band), one end hanging down for the ceremonial "knot tying". With him was his young brother, known as *saibala*, who accompanied him at each stage of the ceremony, and other close kin including his sisters.

The offerings

The groom sat on the stool and received three offerings of water from the bride's father. The essence of these offerings was expressed in *mantras* recited by the *pandit*. The water of the first vessel was sprinkled on the groom's feet "that his tiredness may go aside and he may not contract sickness", with the second offering the groom washed his face "to refresh him in mind and body", and from the third vessel, he drank "to give him purity and happiness and save him from misery".

The offering of water was followed by the food offering of *madu-pak* (honey milk). His father-in-law poured into his hands a little curd, honey and clarified butter, "three foods of the gods", and the groom touched the food with his lips and sprinkled the remainder North, East, South, West and heavenwards, while the *brahmin* prayed that "such nourishing and sweet tasting food be the daily blessing for each and all".

Then came the most important offering, the offering of the girl herself in the rite of *kanya dhaan* (virgin gift). Her mother and father placed their hands on those of the groom, the priest

dropped water on their clasped hands and the father declared that henceforth the groom had the responsibility of maintaining the girl. Though the groom accepted the responsibility he was not yet bound to the girl herself in religious terms.

The father followed up the *kanya dhaan* with the *gao dhaan* (literally "cow gift", signifying food for his daughter's family). This consisted of a tray with clothes for the groom and cash and garlands. (Other traditional gifts, *bo dhaan* (land gift) and *salagram dhaan* (stone gift), are spoken of, but no longer enacted).

The bride came to the altar in the clothes given by her husband, her face partly covered by the coronet (*mori*), and with her came her brother, as her *saibala* and she sat on the right of the groom. Other relatives, more especially female relatives of the bride, including her mother, and her father's sisters, followed up the "virgin gift" (*kanya dhaan*) with *pau pooja*. They gave to the groom a brass tray, fruits, a *dhota* (loin cloth) and money. *Pau pooja* is literally "foot worship" because in former times, and still occasionally in very conservative families, these women began their gift-giving by washing the feet of the groom and bride. The women who perform *pau pooja* will never eat in the groom's home until they have given a special gift (*neg*) to the bride. This gift has been explained as buying from the girl the services which before she performed as part of her obligation to her own family.

Vows and circling the sacred fire

In the meantime the ceremony progressed at the altar. After the offerings the main *yagna* started: the young couple each took three spoons of water, and touched with it the mouth, nose, ears, and limbs. The assistant (*nao*) prepared a brazier (*kund*) for the sacred fire ritual (*havan*). The priest tied round their fingers a ring of sacred grass, and both joined together in dropping the mixed grain (*samagree*) and clarified butter into the flame, and sprinkling water from a spoon of mango leaf. Female relatives brought in the two lots of the fried paddy rice (*lawar*) and the *saibalas* mixed it together in one tray and gave it to the couple to throw on the flames three times.

The groom held the bride's hand in his and took the vows of acceptance, translated by Pandit B. J. Maharaj as follows:

GROOM: "O good-faced one, I take your hand for prosperity, good children and happiness. Live with me happily till old age. The Creator of the Universe and the learned men, noblemen and superiors gathered here, entrust your hand to me for the fulfilment of my righteous living (*dharma*) of the marriage state (*grihastha-ashrama*)."

BRIDE: "O brave man, I take your hand. We shall remain happy and agreeable to one another, till the end of life. I am holding your hand and you are holding mine. We shall never do wrong to one another."

GROOM: "O beloved, I hold your hand to follow the path of *dharma*. You are now my *bharya* (wife)."

BRIDE: "I am now your *grahini* (i.e. in sole charge of your home), in accordance with *dharma*."

GROOM: "*Parmatma*, the Sustainer of this Universe, has entrusted you to my care. You shall get your nourishment through my efforts. Attain a happy life for 100 years with me."

BRIDE: "O my lord, through the grace of God, I am fortunate to be your wife. There is nothing dearer to me than you in this world. We shall lead a long life in mutual affection."

A girl from the bride's side, in this case her younger sister, since her brother had no wife, tied the end of the bride's *sari* to the end of the groom's *kanahawar* (wedding shoulder band) with a special knot into which were put a few flowers, rice and a coin. This is the *gaat joorya* (knot joining). For the "joining" the groom's people gave the sister a gift (*neg*) of a few shillings.

Thus "bound together" the two threw more *lawar* and *ghee* on the fire, and then (and this is very important) circled the fire seven times clockwise. This stage is known as *bhawar*. *Bhawar* was repeated three times with the bride leading, and four times with the groom taking the lead,

indicating that now she was his wife, under his, not her father's *agya* (authority).

Together they took "seven steps" into *grihastha ashrama*, the status of married life, and the *brahmin* prayed that each step be fulfilled. The first (starting with the right foot) was for children, the second for strength, third for wealth, fourth for happiness, fifth for the welfare of the community, sixth for good behaviour, seventh for friends and relatives.

They returned to their stool and the groom's *saibala* sprinkled them with water from the sacred *kalsa* and the groom sprinkled the bride.

The *brahmin* asked the audience to bear witness that they were married, and should not be parted. They returned to the stool, stood up with folded hands, looked at the sun and took a sacred vow that they would live as devoted husband and wife throughout their lifetime.

The sindhoor rite

The climax took place after the marriage vows, when the groom made a red line with *sindhoor* (red powder) down the centre parting of the wife's hair, and put the red dot of wifehood on her forehead. This act is considered so sacred and symbolic that the *naoin* (female attendant) held a special white veil (*chuddar*) over the couple during its performance. The people who particularly must not observe the marking with *sindhoor* are the girl's own people. Thereafter the couple are man and wife. When the groom had finished, a married woman of the bride's side was called to see that the line "is filled to the end". For that she received a small gift (*neg*), in money from the groom's folk. Should the husband die the widow will never again use the red powder, instead she will mark her forehead with a round black dot. The *pandit* concluded his prayers, and the last of the grain and ghee, and a coconut, were put into the flame.

The blessing and the meal

Flowers, petals and rice were handed out among the guests, and a friend of the bride's family thanked them for coming and asked them to "shower blessings" on the young couple who then walked amongst them. An elderly man, a friend

of the parents of the young couple, sang a *shlok* (sacred chant), throwing on the couple the petals and rice. Young people then sang *mangalams* (wedding-songs).

The public ceremony was over, and the people, (the witnesses) were called to the meal which is always vegetarian. It was very specially prepared with at least five different dishes, including a special sweet to "sweeten the mouth". Each guest has his own portion served on a banana leaf and there is no eating from a "joint dish": The sharing of food indicates extreme closeness of relation, and is one of the symbolic acts still to be performed by the young couple.

The induction of the groom

After the wedding ritual, the couple went from the canopy to the house where they were met by the bride's sister. Before they could enter, a man from the groom's side gave the bride's sister a gift, then together the young couple went to the *kohbar*.

To emphasize their new and intimate relationship, the young couple put special food into each other's mouths in the rite of *dahee chato*. They sat side by side, tied by the knot, with a brass dish of curds in front of them, and the groom dipped the fingers of his right hand into the curds and his sister guided his hand to the mouth of the bride who licked off the curds. This was done five times, and then the bride repeated the rite for the groom. In some homes this is followed by *joova khel* (choker play) - a choker or a ring is thrown three times on a tray and the couple compete to retrieve it. "They touch each other and break down shyness."

All the time the groom had kept on his turban (*pugdie*) and garland, and before he could remove them, he had to be given a gift (*neg*) by the bride's mother. After this the bride's sister undid the knot binding the groom to his wife's *sari* and he was free to move among the crowd.

The groom joined his own close male kin for the *keechri kewai* (mixed lentil and rice eating). The men (an uneven number) were brought trays of *keechri* and bowls of milk. Before they would eat they had to be coaxed with *neg* (gifts). This is all rather a game, in which the groom's people try

to bid themselves up by refusing small amounts. The groom only ate after his father-in-law gave to him a gold ring, and to the others a half-crown each; the bride's mother, uncles, aunts and cousins also placed silver into a bag. The *keechri kewai* gifts came to more than £10. While the men were eating the women of the bride's home sang special traditional songs¹ for which the groom's party paid them (ten shillings in this case).

The departure of the bride

The bride changed into clothes given her by her own mother, for it is in those that she must arrive at her husband's home for his people to see how well she was looked after. The end of her *sari* was again knotted to his shoulder band (*kanahawar*), and into a cloth held in the *sari* the mother put seven objects (known together as *koicha*): rice, green grass, money, betel leaves and nuts, and turmeric sticks. Various relatives of the girl then gave gifts to the groom, but when he, through his brother, took out gifts for the bride's family they refused to accept them. "The girl's family give gifts to her but do not take gifts from her after marriage."

The farewell (*bida*) took place with much sadness and affection. The mother held the groom's hands and told him to care well for the girl. Other relatives did the same. The bride's sister brought a bowl of "sweet water" (sugar and water) and gave it to the groom and then to the bride to drink. The groom's sister's husband gave the bride some money.

Eventually the party left with the bride's youngest sister accompanying the bride to help her adjust to her new surroundings.

The reception at the groom's home

Entry into the groom's home was an elaborate and slow process. At the gate of the groom's home, his mother received the young couple with *aarti*

(to bless them and remove evil), and before they could enter the *kohbar* the groom had to give his sister a *neg* (gift). In the *kohbar* the young couple sat side by side and the groom's sister untied the knot binding them together and brought water with which to wash the bride's feet, and the bride gave her the *koicha* (bundle) brought from her people at her farewell. The women of his home came "to see her face" (*moo die khaw*) for the first time and gave her money as welcome. She was ritually inducted to the ordinary routine of living at her in-laws home. Before she could eat of their food she was brought special lentil cakes and sweet rice and she had to taste each dish. Before she could move freely about her new home she had to give her mother-in-law a set of clothes, and the mother-in-law (who could not take without giving in return) reciprocated with a gold ring. She was not expected to work for a few days but at lunch time on the day after her arrival the women asked her to salt the curry. She put in just enough, which was taken as a sign that she would be a good wife. If she had put in too much she would have indicated that she was wasteful, and if too little, stingy. Salt is "life"; it is never given out after the houselamp is lit, and is a very precious commodity. She slept in a room with her sisters-in-law and her husband slept in his.

Materials used in the wedding were ritually disposed of. The young couple had left the garlands and turban at the *kohbar*, and the *kunkan* (bangles) at the altar (*chauk*) of his home, and later these, together with the *kalsa*, were thrown into a river in the rite of *kunkan utare* (taking out the bangle).

The bride's first visit home

After three days (a period determined by the Almanac), the bride, wearing a set of clothes given by her mother-in-law, was fetched home by her kin and returned with her sister, but without her husband, to her mother's home, where she was

¹ The most usual song refers to Krishna, the irresistible deity outwitted by a clever woman. The words in rough translation are:

Gwali (a woman) goes round selling sour milk. She says she comes from *Madura* and is going to sell at *Gokula*. Krishna blocked her way and said: "Why do you want to sell milk at my place?" She said: "Get

a leaf from a tree and I'll give you milk in it, and stop blocking me." - "If I go and get a leaf it might be infected, give the milk in your *sari*." - "My *sari* is not very clean. I've got a lot of children, you couldn't drink milk from it." - "You are trying to lie. You are not married. You are quite young." - But Krishna went to get the leaf and by that time she had escaped.

received with the rite of blessing and removal of evil (*aarti*). She stayed for several days as a guest of honour till on an "auspicious day" her husband himself came to fetch her.

Her future domicile

At his home she was again welcomed with *aarti* and only after this second and final return were the couple allowed to live together as man and wife. On the "good" night his sister led her to the bridal chambers.

She settled down as the new "daughter" in her husband's home, and though her people might visit her, she was legally and ritually separated from them. They could never really feel at ease in

her new home and if very orthodox, they would never even have a proper meal in her home, "would never eat of the salt of their son-in-law". But she would visit them, and bear her first child in her natal home, and remain a focus of their emotional interest. They had married her out, transferring her to the legal and religious care of another family.

The marriage described above would have been different and more simple if the couple had followed what is described as Reform (i.e. *Vedic* or *Arya Samaj*) ritual instead of Orthodox (i.e. *Sanathan*). The Reform group is still relatively small, but is increasing in number, and is drawing members from the more Westernized families.

BOOK REVIEW

Die Vogelwelt Sudwestafrikas. W. HOESCH.

John Meinert Ltd., Windhoek. 1955. 300 pp., one col. plate, photographs and black and white illustrations.

This book, which is written in German, is a valuable record of the ornithology of South West Africa and there is no doubt that the author knows his birds. The format is such that the book can be used in the field, although the binding is not particularly strong, and so I feel that the book will probably suffer in the course of repeated field use.

After a short general introduction the author discusses the external characteristics of birds and

illustrates the mode of measurement of eggs. Thereafter, within the compass of two pages, he sets out the ornithological orders and families.

The main text of the book covers the chief characteristics of each species and give the scientific and common names. The book is profusely illustrated with extremely good black and white drawings and reproductions of photographs, and it would be difficult on account of these to escape the ready recognition of the various birds of South West Africa.

The author has made a distinct contribution to the ornithology of Southern Africa.

J. M. WATT

PROFESSOR DIEDRICH WESTERMANN

On the 31st May, 1956, Professor Diedrich Westermann, Dr. Phil. h.c. (Hamburg) and D. Litt. (Witwatersrand), died after a short illness at Baden, near Bremen, in his 81st year of age. With his death, the Africanistic Sciences have lost one of their greatest pioneers. He held the chair of African Languages and Cultures in the University of Berlin, was a member of various scientific societies, from 1925-39 co-director of the Institute of African Languages and Cultures in London, and editor of various periodicals.

Diedrich Westermann was born at Baden on 24th June, 1875. He studied at Basel and Tübingen with a view to becoming a missionary. In 1901, the Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft sent him to Togoland where he was to teach in one of the mission schools. In this way, the young missionary began studying the Ewe language and penetrated into its phonologic and tone system. The results of these studies and hard work were published in his *Wörterbuch der Ewe-Sprache* (Berlin, 1905) and *Grammatik der Ewe-Sprache* (Berlin, 1907). The more Westermann mastered this language, the more it fascinated him, so that it became the favourite subject to which he devoted himself during his whole life. In 1954 he published in Berlin¹⁴ the *Wörterbuch der Ewe-Sprache*, an enlarged and revised edition of his Ewe Dictionary of 1905. This new dictionary may be regarded as one of the greatest works ever published on an African language. Among his numerous publications on the Ewe language, *Die Glidyi-Ewe in Togo* (Berlin, 1935) deserves special mention. It contains a collection of texts in the Gē dialect of Ewe taken down from Bonifatius Foli, the Ewe informant with whom Professor Westermann worked in Berlin for many years.

During his sojourn in Togoland, Westermann collected material on the class-languages of central Togoland (Logba, Avatime, and Lefana), studied the Ful language (*Handbuch der Ful-Sprache*, Berlin, 1909) and the Hausa language spoken as *lingua franca* in vast parts of the western and

central Sudan (*Die Sprache der Haussa in Zentralafrika*, Berlin, 1911).

In the year 1908, Westermann left the service of the Norddeutsche Missionsgesellschaft and became lecturer in Ewe, Ful and Hausa at the Orientalisches Seminar in Berlin, where the outstanding Bantuist Carl Meinhof then held a professorship. When Meinhof went to Hamburg in 1910, Westermann was appointed professor. He was later appointed to the chair of African Languages and Cultures in Berlin University and taught there until he retired in 1950.

Starting from his linguistic studies in Togoland, Professor Westermann's attention was soon attracted by the manifold problems of the structure and relationship of the languages in the Sudan. Many of these languages showed a common vocabulary of basic words and Westermann tried to reconstruct their original stems in a hypothetical *Ur-Sudan* language. There is no doubt that the word-structure of the Ewe language guided Westermann to a certain extent in his suggestion that the structure of the "Sudanic" stem was Consonant-Vowel. Meinhof encouraged Westermann to set down the results of his Sudanic research, as Meinhof himself tried to delineate the Bantu and Hamitic types of languages. In this way, Westermann's comparative work *Die Sudansprachen* (Hamburg, 1911) came forth. Westermann's field studies in the Nilotic Sudan (1910) brought new information on the classification of the so-called "Sudanic" languages, research work in Liberia (1914) widened his knowledge of Mande (Kpelle) and the West-Atlantic class-languages (Gola) so that the survey and first attempt at a linguistic classification published in 1911 could be improved. In 1927, Professor Westermann published in Berlin his study *Die westlichen Sudansprachen und ihre Beziehungen zum Bantu* on a more differentiated basis and eventually laid down the classification of the languages in the Sudan in "Charakter und Einteilung der Sudansprachen" (*Africa*, London, 1935) and, together with M. A. Bryan,

in *Languages of West-Africa* (Handbook of African Languages, London, 1952). Apart from the Sudanic field, Westermann took always much interest in comparative African linguistics, and he contributed to an improved classification of the African languages (cf. his study *Sprachbeziehungen und Sprachverwandtschaft in Afrika*, Berlin, 1949).

Phonetics and tonetics were among Westermann's favourite subjects, and he also taught phonetics. The variety of sound and tone phenomena in African languages largely added to the material which made his lectures in the Institut für Lautforschung fascinating and unforgettable. In collaboration with the famous phonetician Professor Ida C. Ward (London), Westermann published the indispensable guide *Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages* (London, 1933).

The African languages, and the languages of the Western Sudan in particular, were Westermann's main field of research, but he devoted himself nonetheless to the problems of culture change and African development, and published a series of articles on this subject. His personal experience enabled him to deal with the work of the Christian Mission in Africa (*Africa and Christianity*). Among his many remarkable publications *The African today and to-morrow* (London, 1934) and *Afrika als europäische Aufgabe* (Berlin, 1941) show a comprehensive background and knowledge of African affairs. In the course of the years, Westermann's interest in the history of the Africans before the advent of the Europeans was growing steadily,

and he intensified the studies on history before the last war. After long years of work in this field, he published *Geschichte Afrikas* (Köln, 1952). This opus was in Westermann's own view an attempt to give a survey of the history of Negro Africa. Though such a comprehensive work appeared to be beyond the power of a single man, Westermann succeeded in mastering the subject in an admirable way.

When Professor Westermann had retired, he went back to Baden. Here he continued his studies mainly on the history of Africa and on the history of the Ewe people in particular. When the *Geschichte Afrikas* was out of print, he planned a new and completely revised edition. So the first months of this year were spent in correspondence on this plan. Westermann started the new work. It was, however, to remain a great plan only, left for others to complete. In May he was struck down by the illness from which he did not recover.

Westermann's work and eminent contribution to our knowledge of African languages and cultures was based on a combination of linguistic and anthropological research. This combination opened many new aspects and shows a way for future Africanistic studies. Seeing Africa as an indivisible whole is the characteristic outlook of the Westermann school. It is the great heritage he has left us and for which we all feel an ever-lasting deep gratitude.

O. KÖHLER

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

The publications listed below have been received by the Managing Editor during the period 1st

June, 1956, to 31st August, 1956. This list does not include journals received on exchange.

ANDERSON, George N. : *Iramba Exercises*. Augusta-Lutheran Mission, Tanganyika. 1956.

CORY, H. : *African Figurines*. Faber and Faber, London. 1956.

COUPEZ, A. : *Esquisse de la Langue Holoholo*. Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren. 1955.

DE WITTE, P. : *Taalstudie bij de Basakata*. Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren. 1955.

ELIAS, T. Olawale : *The Nature of African Customary Law*. The Manchester University Press. 1956.

GELFAND, M. : *Medicine and Magic of the Mashona*. Juta and Co. Ltd., Johannesburg. 1956.

HILDERS, J. H. and J. C. D. LAWRENCE : *An Introduction to the Ateso Language*. The Eagle Press, Kampala. 1956.

HODGKIN, Thomas : *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*. Frederick Muller Ltd., London. 1956.

MANNONI, O. : *Prospero and Caliban*. Methuen and Co. Ltd., London. 1956.

MEEUSSEN, A. E. : *Linguistische Schets van het Bangubangu*. Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren. 1954.

MITCHELL, J. Clyde : *The Yao Village*. The Manchester University Press, for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Lusaka. 1956.

STEINER, Franz : *Taboo*. Cohen and West Ltd., London. 1956.

— : *Analytical Bibliography of International Migration Statistics 1925-50*. Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York. 1955.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Indigenous Political System of the Sukuma and Proposals for Political Reform. H. CORY. East African Studies, No. 2. Eagle Press, Nairobi for East African Institute of Social Research. 1954. vii+130 pp. Sh. 3/50.

This book by Mr. Cory on the Sukuma who live south of Lake Victoria is subdivided into three parts. A principal and descriptive Part I deals with the functions of the chief's office and his authority as based on tradition; institutions connected with the chieftainship such as the Deputy of the Chief, the council of the Chiefdom Elders; functions and historical aspects of the Sub-Chief's office, of "Parish Headman" and "Parish Elders"; public institutions according to tradition and in the light of modern conditions. On Part II, proposals for constitutional reforms are made in connection with the introduction of "Parish Councils",

Chiefdom Councils and Local Federal (i.e. district) Councils. A short Part III gives a resumé of how the new constitution works in practice. By "parishes" the author means sub-divisions of chiefdoms into geographical areas with an average population of about 400 taxpayers.

The book shows that Mr. Cory has a thorough knowledge of the political structure and function of the Sukuma, which has enabled him to produce a useful publication in the sphere of "applied anthropology", and by which he has made a valuable and up-to-date contribution to modern efforts in organizing local self-government.

As the purpose of the author's research work is to serve especially the Sukuma by practical measures based on their tradition, no sidelights are thrown on other tribes in East or South Africa, although some of them have similar political structures under modern conditions. Consequently

no literature in this connection is referred to. The political reform is based on a thorough investigation of the traditional political system of the Sukuma and comprises two-thirds of the book. All items of the proposed reform are planned in detail. Although this is necessary from a European and administrative standpoint, the reader at first doubts whether even the leaders of a Bantu community will understand much of the system and whether they will do more than follow it only very vaguely in the proposed direction. But after a start was made, in 1951, with the establishment of 107 "Parish Councils", the lowest layer of the pyramid, and these had been increased to 612, in 1953, besides creating a smaller number (60) of "Divisional Councils, Sub-Chiefdom and Chiefdom Councils", it was found that, with the aid of constant supervision and guidance by able administrators, these established councils functioned with better results than even the Government Anthropologist, Mr. Cory, had expected. One weakness in modern Bantu political systems is the management of tribal finance, a point which is mentioned only twice in the book. Existing Councils are also not yet very strong on the executive side. In times when irresponsible agitation has infiltrated into tribal political life, a well organized council system is essential in order to make leading tribesmen aware of the real problems and conditions.

This publication is a good work which should be studied not only by anthropologists but also by administrators in all parts of Africa.

P.-L. BREUTZ

Jinja Transformed. CYRIL AND RHONA SOFER. East African Studies, No. 4. East African Institute of Social Research, Kampala. 1955. xi+120 pp., map, illus. 16s. 6d.

This book gives an outline description of the population of Jinja, one of the largest towns in the Protectorate of Uganda. The material con-

tained in the publication is described by the authors "as being of relatively short-term administrative utility and interest" (p. ix). Unfortunately publication was delayed.

The main chapters are devoted to historical background, the composition of the present population, occupations and incomes, standards of living, political structure, household and family organization. And since the population of Jinja is made up of Asiatics, Africans and Europeans, the authors could scarcely avoid reference to the problems of race relations flowing from this fact.

The book includes ample statistical material, the accuracy and reliability of which is accepted for purposes of this review.

This type of publication is of essential importance in Africa to-day. We are still lacking information on the far-reaching revolutionary processes in action on this continent. At the same time the problems connected with plural societies in various parts of Africa are similar to such an extent that administrators and observers can and should profit by both error and success in different parts of this continent. Problems of common interest such as low productivity, instability of labour and urban social problems amongst Africans, residential segregation of races, graded multiracial societies - these are of immediate importance in the Jinjas of Africa. How adjustments are complicated by the speed of transformation is aptly illustrated by the material contained in this book.

In one respect, however, Jinja is distinct "an Indian town accommodating a large number of African and a smaller number of European transients" (p. 115).

This report, the result of a combination of the methods of quantitative survey and intensive fieldwork, leaves the anthropologist who may be interested in processes of change and adaptation in African and Indian societies, with a mere outline of a loose structure, and with a keen awareness that it would be interesting to know more about the people of Jinja.

E. F. POTGIETER